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# The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

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*Published Weekly*

## Gandhi Belongs to Tomorrow
By Ralph Templin

## We Have Failed Indonesia!
By Garland Evans Hopkins

## Indecent Controversy
*An Editorial*

## Crusading Governor
By Alton M. Motter

## Why They Fear America
By Adolph Keller

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## In This Issue

RALPH TEMPLIN

is professor of sociology at Wilmington College, Quaker institution at Wilmington, Ohio, and also conducts a training center near Yellow Springs, Ohio, for those interested in the decentralist movement. For 15 years Mr. Templin was engaged in a rural educational experiment under the Methodist mission board in India, but was forced to leave that country in 1940 when the British authorities and the bishops of his church agreed that he had taken too pronouncedly favorable an attitude toward Indian independence.

GARLAND EVANS HOPKINS

is an associate secretary of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, with particular responsibility for liaison with government and business leaders. An earlier article by Dr. Hopkins, written on the basis of first-hand investigation in Indonesia, appeared in The Christian Century for Aug. 13, 1947.

ALTON M. MOTTER

is executive secretary of the St. Paul council of churches in Minnesota.

ADOLPH KELLER

"the grand old man of Swiss Protestantism," was for years in charge of the European Central Office for Interchurch Aid which, before the formation of the World Council of Churches, was the link between the Federal Council of Churches in this country and European Protestantism. He was also one of the secretaries of the Universal Conference on Life and Work, another precursor of the World Council.

FREDERICK C. GRANT

is professor of New Testament at Union Theological Seminary, New York, and a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church.


# The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

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HAROLD E. FEY, *Managing Editor*
CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON, *Contributing Editor*
WINFRED ERNEST GARRISON, *Literary Editor*
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February 18, 1948



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## Calendar of Coming Events

Feb. 18-19. Methodist Board of Hospitals and Homes Annual Convention, Cincinnati.

Feb. 22. Charles Street Forum, Boston; Bishop John J. Wright, speaker.

Feb. 22. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Benjamin E. Mays, speaker.

Feb. 22-29. American Brotherhood Week.

Feb. 23. Institute of Religion, United Church, Raleigh, N. C.; Lynn A. Williams, Jr., speaker.

Feb. 24-26. Western Section, Presbyterian World Alliance, Buck Hill Falls, Pa.

Feb. 27-29. New York State Institute of International Relations Eighth Annual Midwinter Session, Syracuse; Roger Baldwin, Louis Dolivet, Isidor Hoffman, William Stuart Nelson, speakers.

Feb. 29. Charles Street Forum, Boston; J. A. C. F. Auer and Nels F. S. Ferré, speakers.

Feb. 29. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; C. Oscar Johnson, speaker.

Feb. 29. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, speaker.

March 4-6. Federal Council of Churches, Department of the Church and Economic Life, Columbus, Ohio.

March. 21. Palm Sunday.

March 26. Good Friday.

March 28. Easter.

March 29-April 1. Spring Convocation, Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, Rochester, N. Y.: Ayer Lectures, J. Seelye Bixler; Rauschenbusch Lectures, D. R. Sharpe.

April 5-6. Inter-Council Field Department, Cleveland.

April 6. Ingersoll Lecture on the Immortality of Man, Harvard University; Clyde K. Kluckhohn, speaker.

April 6-8. Crozer Theological Seminary Annual Pastors' Conference, Chester, Pa.; John Sutherland Bonnell, Maynard Cassady, Wilbour E. Saunders, Henry Smith Leiper, leaders.

April 12-14. Interprofessions Conference on Education for Professional Responsibility, Buck Hill Falls, Pa.

April 16-18. United Stewardship Council, Spring Meeting, Atlanta.

April 27-30. Third Annual National Council on the New Approach to the Alcohol Problem, Chicago.

April 28. Methodist Church Quadrennial General Conference, Boston.

May 1. Michigan Student Christian Convocation, East Lansing.

May 3-6. National Association of Evangelicals Sixth Annual Convention, Chicago.

May 6-8. National Conference on Family Life, Washington, D. C.

May 20-25. Reformed Church in America General Synod, Buck Hill Falls, Pa.

May 24-30. Northern Baptist Convention, Milwaukee.

May 26. United Presbyterian Church General Assembly, New Wilmington, Pa.

May 27. Presbyterian Church, U. S., General Assembly, Atlanta.

May 27. Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., General Assembly, Seattle.

June 10. Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod of North America Annual Convocation, Rock Island, Ill.

June 17-24. Congregational Christian Churches General Council, Oberlin, Ohio.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
# CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

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## EDITORIAL

SINCE THE NIGHT in which Jesus was betrayed, the central act of Christian worship has been the Lord's Supper—a symbolic meal. To the early Christians, it was part of an actual meal, which was called the love feast. While it was and is still an occasion of joy in the living presence of him who breaks the bread, it has always been shadowed by the ghost of Judas, who went out from the upper room into the night of self-seeking, never to return. Today Judas haunts every table where Christians pray, "Give us this day our daily bread," and deny to their fellow men the possibility of an answer to the same petition. How can we approach the table of the Lord without recalling that millions hunger today because there is something of Judas in each one of us? How can we eat any meal unless we have done everything in our power, through the manifold agencies which the churches have made available to us, to "go out into the highways and the byways to compel them to come in" and share with us? *Merciful Father, we thank thee for food while our brothers are hungry. Make our ears as sensitive as are thine to their prayers for bread. We thank thee for shelter while our brothers are homeless. Help us to see that every home is a prison until all thy children are housed. We thank thee for clothing while our brothers freeze in rags. Help us to feel the chill wind of a stricken conscience until every man is warmed by outer garments and by inner knowledge of thy redeeming grace, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.*

Second Week In Lent

### Hungry Children Made Political Pawns

EUROPE'S hungry children, Chester Bowles charged on his return to this country early this month, are being treated as pawns in a gigantic game of power politics. And both the United States and Russia are guilty. Mr. Bowles, once head of the OPA, is now chairman of the international advisory committee of the United Nations Appeal for Children. He had been studying the child-feeding situation at first hand in England, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland. Only in England did he find conditions less than "desperate." The U.N. Appeal, as reported in these columns last week, is trying to raise $60 million in this country, and the equivalent of a day's pay from every employed worker in other U.N. nations, to save the lives and minds of nearly 100,000,000 children. Present food shipments, according to Mr. Bowles, are everywhere being used to reward political friends and punish opponents. If a child lives in France or Italy, he gets American grain. If he lives in Poland, Czechoslovakia or the countries of eastern Europe, he gets Russian grain. "The political trends of the moment decide who gets what from whom. East and west, the people deeply resent this corruption of humanitarian purposes—the exploitation of their children's hunger in the name of power politics. They must have food at any cost, but they are bitter at having to swallow the hammer and sickle or the American eagle to get it." The U.N. Appeal is an attempt, through voluntary giving, to end this prostitution of humanitarian impulses to the sinister purposes of the "cold war." The churches have a moral responsibility to make its importance in this respect clear to the American people.

### Civil Rights and The Election

IT IS HARD to know how to treat President Truman's message to Congress on the protection of civil rights. Considered simply as a presidential utterance, it is one of the finest in many years. The President nobly reaffirms the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. In striking contrast to the usual drabness of his literary style, there are several passages in this document which student orators should be quoting for years to come. Most of the proposals, also, are just and progressive. However, it is unhappily probable that by lumping all ten together—making them, as it were, part of one package—the President has adopted a legislative strategy which will result in the defeat of all. Politicians of all parties are cynically assuming that Mr. Truman delivered his message in this form "for the record" rather than with any expectation of securing action. Its proposals, they insist, were designed to hold the vote next November of

certain minority groups—chiefly Negroes in key northern states—and not with any idea that the recommendations of the Wilson commission, as set forth in the memorable "To Secure These Rights" report, would be put into effect. The storm which the President's message has stirred in the south does not seem greatly to have frightened Democratic party managers. Congressman Rankin's publication of the charge by the speaker of the Mississippi lower house that Mr. Truman's ten-point program is "damnable, communistic, unconstitutional, anti-American and anti-southern" is shrugged off as simply more of the familiar party game. The threatened "revolt" in the south is not expected to get as far as did the revolt in Texas, Mississippi and South Carolina in 1944—and that, as the record shows, was nowhere. In thus angling for votes in the north, the professional politicians therefore insist, the President did not jeopardize his position in the south. But if this interpretation is to be placed on Mr. Truman's move, it would seem to apply equally to the haste of Senator Ives of New York, who works closely with Governor Dewey, to push a federal FEPC bill onto the floor of the Senate. We have frequently expressed our doubt as to the wisdom of trying to deal with such evils as lynching, racial and religious discrimination in employment and denial of voting rights (by the way, what became of the second section of the 14th amendment?) by federal legislation. But we are certain that no good will come of injecting these issues into a national campaign under circumstances in which both supporters and opponents of the proposed legislation will be suspected of lack of good faith.

## Rising Discontent In Bizonia

A MILLION and a half Germans started this month with a one-day food strike which tied up most of the cities of Bizonia. (Bizonia is the musical comedy name that has been applied to the American and British zones in Germany since the merging of their administrations started.) In the same week, Dr. Martin Niemöller, as president of the Evangelical churches in Hesse and Nassau, distributed a pastoral letter advising against further participation by pastors or church members in denazification trials. Dr. Niemöller leveled much the same charges against the continuation of these trials, as fomenters of hatred and the lust for revenge, that Dr. Adolph Keller, from his Swiss lookout, makes in his article in this issue. In the same week, Cardinal Faulhaber protested to the American authorities against the educational reforms ordered in Bavaria as "dictatorial" and designed to retard rather than promote the spread of democratic loyalties. In the same week, the Christian Social Union party of Bavaria adopted a resolution accusing the American and British military governors of undemocratic action in firing Dr. Johannes Semmler from his post as bizonal economics director. In the same week, a poll taken by American investigators disclosed that most of the Germans who have had personal contact with Americans in the occupation believe that the Americans are enriching themselves by profitable barter transactions. Add such developments together and it becomes evident that discontent is rapidly mounting in the parts of Germany under Anglo-American control. Why? The first, and principal, reason is that the people are hungry. Official rations have fallen to 1,071 calories a day, and frequently not even that pitiful amount is available. Hungry people are angry people. But second, there is rising resentment at the farcical nature of the "democratic" government by Germans who are held responsible when things go wrong—as in the case of food collections—but are cracked down on hard when they try to act independently. Both these conditions will have to be changed, or the situation will grow much worse. It has been announced that the state department will take over the running of Bizonia from the army by next July. By that time, western Germany may be such a seething mass of protest that only an army of occupation can hold it in check.

## British Shame America On D.P. Treatment

FIGURES for the relocation of Europe's displaced persons during November have just been released by the International Refugee Organization. Of 5,000 D.P.'s who emigrated that month, Britain opened its doors to 3,538. Canada took in 135. The United States received 10. Moreover, the British and Canadian programs to secure homes and work for these war victims are expanding. It won't be long before 100,000 will thus have been provided with a new start in life in the two countries. But the Stratton bill, which would permit 400,000 to come to the United States during a four-year period, languishes in Congress. Hundreds of organizations have endorsed it, including the principal labor and veterans' bodies. Yet nothing happens to push it to enactment, and political prophets are now saying that nothing will. The United States is full of big talk about what should be done for the D.P.'s, but it is doing next to nothing. Only 22,000 immigrants of all kinds have been admitted to this country since the end of the war, although the law provides for 150,000 quota entries a year. The record of Britain, desperately short of housing and grappling with a frightening food problem, should shame every American with decent humanitarian instincts. In addition, it should convict us of stupidity. For while we are thus delaying action, the D.P.'s with greatest ability and ambition will have gone to the first countries where opportunity beckoned. Our policy so far has been mean, hypocritical and dumb.

## Oppose Federal Aid for Sectarian Colleges

ONE after another, the President's 28-man commission on higher education has been issuing a series of six reports on what the federal government should do to maintain and expand college education in this country. In its fifth report, released last week, the commission recommended appropriation of an annual succession of large grants, extending through 1960. This would start immediately at $450 million the first year, and would reach $850 million by 1960. Other reports from this commission have been unanimous. This one carried a dissent by two members. The dissent arose over the recommendation that, while federal funds should provide scholarships

in all colleges, they should not be used to help pay the running expenses or building operations of private institutions. In other words, sectarian colleges would not be built with public funds, nor would their costs of operation be partially defrayed from taxes. The two dissenters—surprise! —were the Very Rev. Frederick G. Hochwalt, director of higher education for the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and Dr. Martin R. P. McGuire, dean of the graduate school of the Catholic University of America. In the light of what has happened hitherto to bills in Congress proposing federal aid for elementary schools, when those bills did not provide that parochial schools should get some of the money, it does not take much of a soothsayer to predict that the commission's recommendations regarding federal help for colleges face a gloomy prospect.

## What's Up in Greece?

ANOTHER large detachment of marines was sent to the Mediterranean last week. Whether, like its predecessor, it was specially equipped for landing operations, the press has not revealed. But a number of things which have happened recently indicate that some sort of crisis in the Greek venture is approaching. First, Washington announced that Dwight Griswold will give up his post as head of the American mission to Greece early next summer. Second, Maj. Gen. William G. Livesay, chief of the army group in the American mission, issued a formal statement declaring that the Greek army is now large enough and sufficiently well equipped so that it should have no trouble in mopping up the Communist guerrillas. Third, Peloponnesian delegates to the Chamber of Deputies signed a formal protest against the failure of the Greek army to clear their area of forces opposing the Athens government. Fourth, the commander of the Greek forces on the northern front was removed, with the heads of the American and British military missions sitting in the session of the national defense council in which the action was taken. Fifth, a new American commander, Maj. Gen. James A. Van Fleet, was sent to take charge of all American front-line forces. General Livesay, according to Washington, will remain in over-all command in Athens; General Van Fleet will direct a coming "spring offensive." Such a series of events is conclusive evidence that important moves of some sort are impending. But what they are, and how deeply they commit the United States to military operations, the American people do not know. And the indications are that they will not be allowed to know until it is too late for them to do anything to express their will.

## Despair Grows on A-bomb Control

HOPE that any effective control of the atomic bomb can be secured before the outbreak of an atomic world war is all but dead among government leaders and top-ranking scientists. The atomic energy commission of the United Nations appears to have run into what the *New York Times* calls "the dead end of the street" in its efforts to devise a program for the international control of these deadly weapons. When it resumed its deliberations at Lake Success recently, Mr. Gromyko not only insisted that Russia would have nothing to do with the Baruch plan and that A-bombs must be outlawed and those now existing destroyed before any plan for future control could be considered, but he refused to give any pledges that, once this were done, the Soviet Union would then agree to the sort of inspection and control plan that the majority of the U.N. commission favors. Simultaneously, an article in the quarterly *Foreign Affairs* by J. Robert Oppenheimer shows the "dead end" at which the scientists have arrived. Dr. Oppenheimer, who was director of the Los Alamos bomb project during the war and is now head of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, tells in the carefully measured language of the scientist what has been done to attain an international agreement controlling the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes, how the efforts have failed and why they have failed. At the end of his article he says: "It is necessarily denied to us in these days to see at what time, to what immediate ends, in what context, *and in what manner of world,* we may return again to the great issues touched on by the international control of atomic energy." The italics are ours. What Dr. Oppenheimer means is that he does not believe mankind has a chance to control the A-bomb until after it has passed through at least one atomic world war. Then it may set about picking up the pieces, provided there are any pieces left to pick up.

## But What Is Defense?

THE NATURAL CONSEQUENCE of this growing despair with regard to an effective international control of atomic weapons is a renewed call for defense measures by the United States. But what is defense under the conditions of atomic warfare? Hanson W. Baldwin, who is sure that it is not anything on the order of U.M.T., writes in the same number of *Foreign Affairs* as that in which Dr. Oppenheimer's article appears, that defense must now take on "an offensive concept" and be based on "the maintenance of a completely equipped mobile force ready for instant action." This conclusion rests on the insistence of the scientists that (a) Russia will have enough A-bombs to challenge this country within a few years, and (b) that there is no defense, in the old sense, against such an attack. "Defense," in other words, has now become the threat of such annihilating retaliation for a blow struck against us that any other nation will be afraid to strike. This must be what the navy has in view in the new building program which, at an additional cost of $2½0 million, it last week asked Congress to approve. Present building plans are being halted, the navy said, to concentrate on gigantic airplane carriers almost twice as large as any now in existence, from which planes carrying atomic bombs can take off, and submarines of hitherto unapproached size and speed. At the same time, Col. Louis E. Coira, writing in the *Air University Quarterly Review,* argued that defense now requires that the President shall have power to launch "a preventive attack" against any potential enemy without a declaration of war by Congress. What this all means is, to be blunt about it, that in

the eyes of military experts and the armed services, defense has become virtually indistinguishable from aggression. Constitutional controls of the war-making power, relied on by the Founding Fathers to guard the republic from succumbing to a military dictatorship, have little reality left in them.

## A Protestant G.H.Q. For the Orient

ANNOUNCEMENT by the International Missionary Council of the establishment of a Joint Commission in Eastern Asia indicates that a new stage has been reached in the development of Christianity in the Orient. The new body, which will have its offices in Manila, was created early this month at a meeting sponsored by the I.M.C. and the World Council of Churches. Delegates were present from a number of missions with home offices in the United States and Switzerland, and from the non-Roman churches of ten countries in eastern Asia. Dr. Gumersindo Garcia, president of the Philippine Federation of Evangelical Churches, is to be the first chairman of the new commission. Its board will be composed of S. S. Leung of China, R. B. Manikam of India, K. S. Kim of Korea, and Bishop Stephen C. Neill, formerly of south India and now assistant to the Archbishop of Canterbury and co-director of the study department of the World Council. Representatives from Australia and New Zealand may join later. This permanent commission will provide a means for integrating the coordinated program of Geneva with a coordinated program of the "younger churches" in the Orient, and that, in turn, with a far closer coordination of the programs of the Western denominational mission boards. Incidentally, it must be reported that government red tape again kept the desired Japanese delegates from attending the Manila meeting. One of the first tasks the commission must tackle, it announces, is to induce American state department and army authorities to allow representatives of the Japanese churches to attend the international Christian gatherings which will be held at Amsterdam and elsewhere next summer.

## Cleveland Responds to World Government

A CITIZENS' MOVEMENT in favor of world government, according to the Associated Press, is sweeping Cleveland. Sparked by all the members of the family of a prominent lawyer, John B. Putnam, who lost a son in the war, more than 200,000 have already signed pledges to work for a world federation as the only hope of saving mankind from the desolation of an atomic war. Before the campaign ends, more than a half million signatures are expected. As the pledges are gathered, they are being sent to Washington. Federal judges, the governor, a former governor, the mayor and most of Cleveland's "big shots," as well as the rank-and-file population, are giving the movement their support. The A.P. dispatch which tells of this remarkable demonstration reveals both its promise and its pitfalls. The promise appears in this indication that there is mass support available in this country for adherence to a federal world union. A spontaneous response of such proportions suggests that the American people are ahead of their political leaders on this issue. The pitfalls lie behind the A.P.'s statement that signers "agree on only one point: they want a world government of some kind because they are convinced that is the only way to avoid an atomic war. They would retain self-government for each country in matters not international in scope. Other movements . . . have broken up on doctrinaire debates and disagreements. This movement gives people a chance to express themselves on the commonest possible denominator—world union, however it can be accomplished." Cleveland's supporters of world government will not get far with their crusade before they discover that there are few questions of major policy these days which are "not international in scope." The present enthusiasm in that city seems to come, in considerable measure, from the fact that it is not very clear what the signers of the pledges are asking their government to do. But clarity will be necessary before there can be effective action.

# Indecent Controversy

ROCHESTER, New York, had the honor of experiencing the first explosive local reaction to the Manifesto recently issued by the new organization of Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State. Rochester is the home of Dr. E. M. Poteat, president of Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, who is also the president of P.O.A.U. It is also a strong Roman Catholic center. The authorities of that church, through an official diocesan paper published there, unleashed their wrath upon the signers of the Manifesto, and Dr. Poteat in particular. The usual charges of "bigotry," "intolerance"—and epithets even worse—were hurled at the leaders of the new organization. Cardinal Spellman was brought in from New York city for a public meeting.

Whereupon, two hundred Protestant ministers, according to Religious News Service, "leaped to the support of Protestants and Other Americans and, in a special meeting of the pastors' union, endorsed the Manifesto" and upheld its signers, including Dr. Poteat, as "distinguished and responsible leaders of the Christian church whose Christian character and personal integrity are above reproach." Addressing this meeting, Dr. Poteat declared that the new organization cannot be called anti-Catholic save in the same sense that every Roman Catholic who holds his faith with sincere conviction is anti-Protestant.

"The religious differences between the two faiths have no place in the undertaking to maintain separation of church and state," said Dr. Poteat, and pleaded for "an unemotional approach to this distinctively American problem." "The real issue lies," he continued, "not between Protestants and Roman Catholics, but between Protestants and Other Americans on the one hand and, on the other, those agencies of government which are willing to concede the claims of the Roman Church to what we regard as a violation of the constitutional prin-

ciple." Dr. Poteat argued that the principle of separation of church and state "serves the cause of religious liberty for all groups—Protestant, Jewish, Roman Catholic and all others."

Instead of deploring such an outburst as that experienced in Rochester, it should be welcomed as a salutary clearing of the air. Those timid Protestants who fear to have this issue brought into the open should now see the folly of an attitude of indifference to Roman Catholic aggressiveness on the political level. Too long has a tolerant Protestantism allowed this issue to be smothered. So long as it is kept smothered the hierarchy, naturally, will improve its opportunity to attain the goals in public life upon which its purpose is set. What now disturbs the Catholic authorities is the discovery that Protestants and many other Americans may not be so timid and complacent as has been assumed; that there is a great body of American opinion which is ready to assert itself in defense of a fundamental principle of this government concerning which they hold a conviction contrary to that upon which the Roman Church is proceeding.

On what grounds is it claimed that these Protestants and Other Americans are out of order in expressing themselves on a public issue and in asserting their convictions with whatever political strength they possess? What kind of democracy would this be if only those on one side of an issue could speak out, while those on the other side could uphold their convictions only on peril of being called "breeders of religious hatred," "a society of organized bigotry," "a reorganized klan with the 'new look,'" and such other coarse and intemperate aspersions as have been flung at the distinguished personnel of the new organization?

Does not such language betray the true location of the religious hatred it professes to deplore? Does it not also betray a consciousness that certain ends which are being sought in American society cannot be validated by fair argument and persuasion, but only by trying to scare the opposition into non-resistance through fear of being smirched with vulgar epithets?

For a long time the threat of such consequences has been held over Protestant heads. Organized efforts at appeasement, led by Protestants and Jews, have been made. But these have resulted only in a weakening of Protestant conviction concerning its own faith, together with a softening of its power of resistance to Roman Catholic aggressiveness in the political and educational areas. All Protestants and Jews see the gains made by the Roman Church in these areas, and deplore them. But some shrink from the threatened consequences if they speak out. So they are content with mere ineffectual hand-wringing, while they rationalize their inaction with the sanction of a false conception of tolerance.

It is high time for Protestants to come out from under the spell into which these vulgar threats have cast them. We believe the consequences of a firm resistance to certain Catholic policies in public life are greatly exaggerated in the thinking of those who have developed this psychosis of fear which they call tolerance. No doubt the explosive reaction in Rochester and the similarly ill tempered reaction of the Knights of Columbus and the hierarchy's official utterance through the National Catholic Welfare Conference will be repeated in other localities and in further general pronouncements. But this hysterical reaction is bound to exhaust itself. So long as it is continued, the moral injury which it brings upon the Catholic Church itself will be increasingly felt by the hierarchy. This is certain to be the case when the hierarchy becomes convinced that a great body of American citizens, led by the whole of Protestantism, will not be deterred from their purpose to bring their case for religious liberty to the law-makers and law-administrators of the nation.

We believe that this is the concept under which Protestants and Other Americans proposes to operate. Careful reading of the Manifesto issued by this organization discloses as little indication of religious prejudice in it as could fairly be expected in a statement dealing frankly with the specific issue. The document indulges in no double-talk and pulls no punches but, considering that it is a call for action, it is marked by restraint, discrimination and objectivity. It disclaims any intention of entering the field of *religious* controversy. It places in the forefront an affirmation that it "does not concern itself with the religious teaching, the forms of worship or the ecclesiastical organization of the many churches in our country," and disavows any purpose "to propagandize the Protestant faith or any other, or to criticize or oppose the teaching or internal practices of the Roman Catholic Church or any other." Its "single and sole purpose," says the Manifesto, is to redress the violations of the Constitution now in force and to preclude further violations.

Of course, the Manifesto would utterly lack realism unless it frankly specified the source whose acts and policies have raised the issue. But there is no reason, as we see it, why this particular issue cannot be detached from the religious issues that divide Catholics and Protestants and dealt with in an open discussion, however intense it must be, without evoking charges of hatred and bigotry. That there is hatred and bigotry among Catholics, Protestants and Jews need not be denied. All faiths have their fringes of fanaticism. But it is nothing short of indecent to try to besmirch such men as Poteat, Oxnam, Morrison, Mackay, Newton and Dawson with the epithets wantonly flung about by Catholic authorities and newspapers. No self-respecting Protestant or Jew would think of hurling back such epithets at Maritain, Gilson, Father Courtney Murray, Professor O'Brien, Father LaFarge, Dr. Shuster or Professor MacMahon. These distinguished Roman Catholics could appropriately be called the opposite numbers of the Protestant leaders upon whom the hierarchy is trying to pin the most offensive labels.

What, then, is to be done in the face of such mud-slinging? A preponderant majority of Americans believe that certain policies and positive acts of the Roman Church are incompatible with the Constitution and a threat to religious liberty. Shall these be cowed into silence for fear of creating unhappy dissension? No doubt the distinguished Protestants who have undertaken the leadership of a movement to maintain separation of church and state took into account the prospect of such peril to their reputations when they decided to bring this issue into the open. Shall other Protestants and other Americans be less courageous?

We see only two alternatives to the course adopted by

Protestants and Other Americans. One is cringingly to do nothing. In which case the officials of government, all the way from Congress and the White House down to the local school board, will ultimately yield to Roman Catholic pressure and propaganda and give that church free access to the public treasury for the support of its sectarian schools, and such privileged access to the ear of the government as an ambassadorship to the pope will provide. When this occurs, Protestants and others will probably be aroused to undo what has been done, and the dissension at that stage will be far more bitter—and perhaps even violent—than any consequences of present action will be. If the timid Protestant who shrinks from controversy wishes to avoid it in such extreme form, his own fears should counsel him to stand up now and be counted.

The other alternative is to allow the leadership of a resistance movement to be seized by the fanatical anti-Catholic fringe of Protestantism. Such a development is inevitable if the steadier and more representative, and far more numerous, portion of Protestantism fails to act. The point has obviously been reached at which action is called for, and the forces on the fringe perceive clearly the capital that can be made for their own weird conceptions of the Protestant faith by exploiting an anti-Catholic issue. Their movement would be totally unlike that of Protestants and Other Americans. Their propaganda would be a direct attack upon the Roman Church—its doctrines, its forms of worship and its ecclesiastical organization. The political issue of the separation of church and state would be mixed and confused with these religious issues. The effect would be nothing short of a religious war in the political arena. Such a conflict would not only bring disgrace upon American democracy but shame upon the whole of Protestantism.

The right way to meet the situation is, in our judgment, that which Protestants and Other Americans have adopted. Their Manifesto repeatedly declares that they have no other aim save to maintain the separation of church and state. They disavow any intention of engaging in controversy over the religious matters upon which Protestants and Roman Catholics are deeply divided. This means, as we interpret it, that they propose to detach the political issue raised by Catholic activities in the area of government, and concentrate upon that, while the whole range of religious differences is left for discussion in what the Manifesto calls "the open forum of religious liberty."

We believe that our Roman Catholic fellow citizens who have loosed this barrage of vituperation in Rochester and elsewhere have missed the point and spirit of Protestants and Other Americans United. They have gone off half-cocked; they have tried to evade rather than face the issue. We have no illusion that this organized resistance to the political activity of their church can be carried through in a mood of philosophic calm. But we dare to hope that the Roman Church has, after these many years, sufficiently adjusted itself to American democracy to be able to defend its political purposes without resort to indecent name-calling or imputing motives of hatred, prejudice and bigotry to those who oppose them.

The members of the hierarchy should know that they are now dealing with a Protestant leadership whose reputation for enlightenment, breadth of mind and irreproachable character places them beyond the reach of such crude weapons as were chosen in this initial reaction to the P.O.A.U. Manifesto. Those who are repairing to the standard which has been lifted are of like status in public esteem. It is to be hoped that their opponents will soon sense the injury to their own cause which a continuation of their initial attack will bring upon them, and that they will choose another type of weapon.

# *VERSE*

## *Anomaly*

PRIDE, more than power, has left our hearts afraid.
It is not force we shun, but tenderness.
We live our days as in a masquerade
And die for want of word's or hand's caress.

ELINOR LENNEN.

## *Gandhi, the Man of God*

THE HEART that beat for all men is hushed.
Listen, we can hear the tears of millions falling.
The eyes that looked upon all men with love are closed.
Listen, we can hear the sobs of millions burdening the air.
The hands that labored for all men are folded.
Listen, we can hear the heartbreak of mankind.

Love has been crucified again.
The bullet that pierced this frail man of God
Pierced the heart of the world,
Pierced the very core of life.
Love has been crucified again,
But through the fog of our grief
We hear his small, brave voice
Telling us to keep ringing in our hearts
The holy bells of faith and peace,
That some day these same bells
May ring aloud for all the world!

LUCIA TRENT.

## *Meditation*

WHEN I am sore beset I seek some quiet place,
Some lonely room or barren, windswept hill,
And there in silence wait alone until
I see again the smile upon God's face.

I feel his presence fill me like the dawn
And hear once more his whispered, "Peace, be still,"
And know again the strength to do his will.
I turn to take my load and find it gone.

ANTOINETTE GOETSCHIUS.

# Gandhi Belongs to Tomorrow

By Ralph Templin

GANDHI belongs to the coming age of hope. To be understood he has to be seen against the dark background of the age which is now writhing in the agony of death. When a famous journalist said to Gandhi, "Politics is my religion," Gandhi replied, "Religion is my politics." Thus he gave us a key to understanding both himself and the age. For in the new age, if life survives, the human spirit will be master over earth's forces, beginning with its own "soul-force."

The age that is closing has definitely not been the age of "economic man." An era of technology controlled by political power and of robot workmanship determined by mass appeal cannot properly be called either industrial or economic. Minutely scrutinized, this age has fallen short of each of its boasted standards. It has not been industrial enough in the sense of producing for all men. It has not been scientific enough to apply system with reference to *all* knowledge. It has been an uneconomic age, the age of political power.

Power politics, even on the part of those who were regarded as industrial masters, and success worship, even on the part of those who were industrially enslaved, are the characteristics by which our age will be known. Industrialists, so called, have made their mark as politically powerful figures or as behind-the-scenes manipulators of governments, not as practicing economists. Shakespeare described the politician as "one who would circumvent God."

## I

Into this age came Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, bringing superior insight and a more practical method of application, strangely blended together. Albert Einstein said of him: "Generations to come, it may be, will scarcely believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth." Long before the atomic bomb demonstrated the immediate necessity of humanity's learning how to live in universal brotherliness, this man of India grasped and implemented socially the insight of that other Man—him of Nazareth—who said that we could become masters only by becoming servants to all. Gandhi's application is the most practical and historical performance of the age which scorned him as impractical. The world of his time could not see for its blindness what he both taught and practiced on a wide scale: that it is by this inner human integrity of ethical love that men can live and organize the mastery of their destiny.

During his early years in the ashram, or agricultural colony, at Phoenix in South Africa, with C. F. Andrews as one of the associates, Gandhi developed his own thought out of a synthesis of the two greatest streams of religious devotion at their best—the Judeo-Christian and the Hindu. This could be possible only to one for whom truth, from whatever source, was to be apprehended and obeyed. He never compared the best of his own religion with the worst of others—that greatest conceivable barrier against world good will. Thus, it may be, religious consciousness received in him its greatest advance since Christ.

Two pure streams—the unknown who, just before the turn of the Christian era, composed the Bhagavad Gita, and Jesus of Nazareth—converge now long afterward in one who has gone beyond them both in his social application. The author of the Gita and Jesus alike concerned themselves with the inner spiritual "grace" by which active men, while living in a violent world, can devote themselves to good and so obey the divine law written on the heart. Gandhi built upon them both, concerning himself mainly with how such inner spirit can organize its manifestation in the forms and techniques of a divine commonwealth. He brings a distinctly social message of the outreach of utter devotion to truth and love, a message especially appropriate to a "social" age.

## II

Contrary to the impression created by the Western press, Gandhi's practical teaching and program have been in the main not political and separatist—striking off the British yoke—but a positive socio-economic approach to the problems of human living. This has been channeled through four nationwide organizations of his National Congress party, each divorced as completely as possible from all political aspects of the movement. The organizations are devoted respectively to four great areas of human need: agriculture, village industries, village education, and the removal of untouchability. This program is designed to give practical meaning to freedom in the 700,000 villages where about nine-tenths of all India's people live. The emphasis is upon production for consumption, whether in the home or village or in a nationwide exchange, and upon control by the people through democratization of the age-old village social organization, the *jajmani*.

What is Gandhi's meaning for us? The world social revolution is long overdue. Time presses us to bring our social arrangements up to the level of our technological achievements. Many urge the use of the age's favorite weapon, the *coup d'état,* which would reform politics from the top down and from the outside in. Some of these, with the usual impatience of immediatists in all ages, reveal contempt for morality as a support of their reform. They are indifferent to the violence which drenches the world in blood. Their futility has been demonstrated by every Western revolution, beginning with the French.

## III

Gandhi offers an alternative way of revolution. In this lies his great gift to the world. He begins with a basic philosophy of eminent soundness which combines all the power of personal integrity—*satyagraha* or soul-force—with the pooled strength of the cooperative means to mastery of nature and human nature—*swadeshism* or the economics of group self-help. This way of revolution turns

its followers back from the political instrument to the use of the economic instrument—the mutual application of labor to natural resources in the production and distribution of all that is needed by the human family. Machinery is to be opposed only when it magnifies the power of the political instrument in the hands of those who would attempt to thwart the people's mastery of their own destiny.

Without disrupting all at once the structure of a society that has evolved through generations, this way of revolution begins its reformation within each life by stripping away all the psychological elements that divide and disorganize people, such as the desire for power over others, the desire to exploit or regiment others, and violent attitudes and methods in conflict. Simultaneously it attacks both the inner and outer citadels of resistance to reform. On the positive side, it engages people at once and in ever wider areas in the mutual conquest of power within and without.

During my long sojourn as a missionary in India I helped to found the *Kristagraha* movement, which was designed to reorient the Indian Christian community away from its pro-Western bias and toward vital participation in their country's life. On two occasions I had talks with Gandhi about the movement. His advice fell into three parts. He said the movement should be kept *moral*—free from politics; *pure*—aboveboard and free from guile; and *harmless*—non-violent in thought and deed. Success should not be measured in number of adherents or in terms of such power as worldly people seek. If only one should adhere steadfastly to these principles, he declared, he could never be defeated nor could his contribution ever prove vain. In this faith Gandhi lived, and in it he claims tomorrow as his own.

# We Have Failed Indonesia!

By Garland Evans Hopkins

SEVERAL months ago in these columns I asked, "Will we fail Indonesia?" The answer can now be given. It is clear that we have failed Indonesia. Recall the sequence of events. It was on August 1, 1947, that the world thrilled to the forthright action of the Security Council in calling on the Netherlands and the Indonesian republic to put an end to hostilities and settle their dispute by arbitration or other peaceful means. Cease-fire orders from both governments followed on August 4, but each party immediately charged the other with violations.

On August 14 the Indonesian statesman, Soetan Sjahrir, requested the Security Council to supervise the cease-fire order, to ask that the Netherlands troops be withdrawn to former positions and to provide an arbitration commission. He pledged that his government would abide by the decision of the commission. The Netherlands delegate answered that the council had no jurisdiction in the matter. He proposed mediation by an impartial third party functioning without relation to the council. He also proposed that the career consuls in Batavia should jointly report the situation.

### *Colonial Powers Supported*

In all the discussion which followed these proposals, Herschel Johnson, the United States representative on the Security Council, stood solidly behind the colonial powers. His original attitude of contempt toward Indonesia gave way to one of restrained courtesy, perhaps because of the numerous demands in support of the colonies made upon the state department by leading Protestants. But it is doubtful that there was any fundamental change in his viewpoint. If more American churchmen had become vocal the situation might have been saved.

However, not all American churchmen were against colonialism. One leader wrote: "The economic life of Holland itself is at stake. . . . Americans should never forget this. [Holland's] continued existence depends upon the resources of the Indies." This kind of statement was grist for the mills of our Europe-minded state department and U.N. delegation. Throughout the discussions Russia and Poland, from whatever motive, were saying the things a dynamically democratic United States should have said. There was a sharp rise in the numbers and prestige of the Communist party in Indonesia.

On August 25 the Security Council passed a resolution which, among other things, requested the "governments members of the council who have career consular representatives in Batavia to instruct them to prepare jointly . . . reports on the situation." It tendered its good offices, expressing readiness, if requested, to "assist the settlement through a committee of the council consisting of three members of the council, each party selecting one, and the third to be designated by the two so selected." In other words the council, largely at the insistence of the United States, refused to undertake arbitration and accepted the procedure of "good offices," a device which had already twice failed.

The career consuls' report offered more hope of getting at the truth than previous devices had done, particularly in view of the fact that the strongly pro-Dutch American consul general, Walter Foote, had been relieved of his duties in Batavia. But then the United States government clearly showed its hand: it requested Foote to remain and serve with the career consuls in making the survey. The resulting report presented two directly opposed positions as admissible interpretations. It was tendentious and of little value.

On October 1 Frank Porter Graham, president of the University of North Carolina and a recognized liberal, was appointed as this country's representative on the Good Offices Committee (GOC). The move was welcomed by friends of Indonesia, though the battery of advisers pro-

vided by the state department raised a question as to how far Graham would be free to exercise his own judgment. Reports from Indonesia soon showed that his chief task was to mediate between his fellow committeemen, R. C. Kirby of Australia and Paul Van Zeeland of Belgium, whose differences to date have prevented the presentation of a report to the Security Council and may result in two or even three reports being submitted.

It will undoubtedly be years before the full story of the negotiations can be made public, but it is hardly hazardous to guess that Graham has been torn between his personal convictions and demands from the state department to hew to its policy of subordinating all other considerations to the rehabilitation of Europe. Particularly unfortunate is it that the one man in the state department who might have raised his voice in support of a more farsighted policy as regards Indonesia—Kenneth Landon, the former Presbyterian missionary who is acting chief of the southeast Asia division—has frequently been absent from his desk on sick leave. The fact that former Consul General Foote has been kept in Washington as consultant and adviser on Indonesia since his return is highly significant.

### *United States to Blame*

It is now evident that the GOC has failed. This is doubly tragic. Not only does it blast Indonesian hopes but it adds another to the failures of the United Nations at a time when that organization badly needs a success to its credit. Responsibility for the failure will properly be laid at our door, for if Graham had sided with Kirby, the Renville truce and subsequent statements signed on January 17 would not have been imposed upon the Indonesians. By attempting to steer a middle course between the principles of colonialism and those of democracy, the United States has laid itself open to blame for a document more ambiguous than the Linggadjati agreement. The Indonesians have been forced to yield on practically every point. Their one gain is provision for a plebiscite, but since the Dutch control the territory in which this is to be held there is serious doubt as to the possibility of a genuine expression of sentiment. The Dutch, on the other hand, have received almost every concession they demanded, even maintenance of the Van Mook line.

Despite the manifest injustice of this situation, Prime Minister Sjarifoeddin was backed by President Soekarno when he stated, immediately after signing the truce: "The republic is naturally disappointed that the truce finally agreed upon departs so far from what we hoped for . . . but the republic has accepted the truce and will carry it out to the best of our ability." What else could the leaders of Indonesia do but sign in the face of their commitment to support GOC?

But the people (who are sometimes said to be powerless in the hands of their leaders) were not willing to accept the Renville agreements. The cabinet members representing the Masjoemi party, largest and most intensely nationalistic of Indonesian parties, resigned. The stop-gap cabinet of the Batak Christian Sjarifoeddin fell and Mohammed Hatta, longtime leader of the extremists, was asked to form a new cabinet.

This is an unfortunate move so far as the West is concerned. Indonesian liberals like Sjahrir and Sjarifoeddin have long held before their people the hope of Western cooperation in attaining freedom and economic stability. The loss of prestige resulting from the failure of every previous effort, and now of the GOC, relegates these men to the background. It is entirely possible that the Indonesian government will become anti-Western and transfer its hope of support to the Moslem nations. If this happens, it will be a serious blow to both the cause of democracy in the East and to the hope for peace in Indonesia. Responsibility of such a démarche would have to be placed squarely and almost equally upon the Netherlands and the United States.

### *Colonial War Made in America?*

Until the end of 1945 Indonesians looked to the U. S. A. as the one power which stood for freedom and emancipation of colonial peoples. They have suffered slow disillusionment as proof piled upon proof that the department of state was committed to buttressing Dutch power. The Indonesians felt that the Dutch would never have dared to launch their war in the colonies unless the United States had given them the green light. This conviction was strengthened by the fact that while the Hollanders' aggression was at its height the United States continued to lend them money.

Indonesians have been bombed by planes made in America, shot and shelled by tanks, artillery and rifles made in America, and burned by flame-throwers made in America. The death and devastation which have come upon the land were made possible by American money and American arms in the hands of the Dutch. To say that the United States had no concern or moral responsibility for the situation brought about by the use of these weapons is an argument which few Americans, let alone Indonesians, would be willing to accept.

### *More of the Same Policy*

Now, following the truce, the United States has repeated its offer—first made in July 1947 on the very eve of the Dutch war—of $100 million for the rehabilitation of Indonesia. This seems a friendly gesture. In light of the provisions of the truce, however, several questions arise. Who is to spend the money, the Dutch or the Indonesians? What say will the Indonesians have in accepting or refusing the loan, in the terms under which it will be accepted and in its expenditure? Will it be spent for the ultimate good of the Indonesian people? If the money is handed over to the Dutch or to a Dutch-sponsored colonial government, it will simply mean that the United States has made an additional loan to the Dutch with Indonesia as collateral. In the hands of the Dutch such a sum could become a more effective weapon against the republic than all the arms we have supplied.

It is all too obvious that we have failed Indonesia. But it does not follow that we must continue to make the same mistake. The Dutch government and the U. S. department of state should face the realities. Independence for Indonesia is certain to come. It may be delayed; it cannot be defeated. An aroused public opinion in the United States should demand a complete reversal of our present policy toward Indonesia.

# Crusading Governor

By Alton M. Motter

ONE SUMMER NIGHT a few years ago, a tall man was walking with his two sons along a Minnesota highway. The boys were completing the 31-mile hike required of Eagle Scouts, and the father strode along with them. The man was Luther W. Youngdahl. Later on he described the hike. "Drunken drivers were tearing up and down the highway," he said. "Several times my sons and I had to leap out of the way. As we neared a night club we heard the shouts and screams of drunken men and women. Inside we could see the crowds at the bar and the long lines waiting to get at the slot machines. Young women were walking up and down with their aprons full of money making change."

Then and there Youngdahl determined that if he ever got a chance he would hit this thing and hit it hard. The chance came on January 1, 1947, when he was inaugurated governor of Minnesota. Today gambling is nonexistent there and liquor is under strict control. But it is not solely or chiefly his fight against the gambling interests that has just caused the newspaper editors of the northwest to vote Youngdahl the "outstanding Minnesotan of 1947." Back of his campaign to enforce the state's anti-gambling laws is a keen social understanding and concern that bids fair to make him the outstanding figure among United States governors.

### *A Man in Dead Earnest*

Youngdahl looks upon his job as that of a human engineer. He is in dead earnest about developing the kind of legislative program that will enrich human lives. "Our human resources are priceless," he says. "If we can preserve them we shall be able to husband our material resources. Without them our material resources will avail us nothing." So he considers his task a sacred calling. His law-enforcement program is only part of a larger picture, though an important one.

When Youngdahl took office, Minnesota, like most states, had on the books legislation against gambling, but it was not taken seriously in many counties; witness the fact that during 1946-47 five thousand individuals or firms paid the special federal tax of $100 for operating slot machines. There were 8,500 slot machines in the state. One county had 18 for each 1,000 population, another had 16 per 1,000. The governor proposed a simple remedy: a law decreeing that the penalty for any establishment maintaining slot machines and other forms of gambling was cancellation of its license to do business.

The gambling operators, whose "one-arm bandits" had become a $7,000,000-a-year business in Minnesota, sensed the beginning of the end if this bill should pass. They were joined by some of the more conservative elements in the state who had begun to fear that the governor was too liberal in other areas, particularly in his attitude toward education and labor.

When the anti-slot machine bill came up for debate, the gambling interests brought to the capital 600 of their people from all parts of the state. Clever leaders launched a campaign of ridicule against the governor. "Does Youngdahl only want to be a one-term governor?" they asked. A newspaper carried the heading: "Attention, Governor Youngdahl! If nobody was willing to gamble, nobody would buy a farm—plant a crop—start a new business—take a new job—get married—raise a family—or vote, not even for a governor!"

### *Appeal to the People*

The governor answered by taking his appeal directly to the people. Twice a week over seventeen radio stations he set forth his cause to the voters. Soon letters from persons in every walk of life began to pour into his office. He cited from them in his broadcasts. One message ran: "As a farmer's wife and mother of six children, I want to thank you many times for your interest in the people in trying to remove slot machines that have caused so much trouble in our homes." A labor union wrote: "This local and all its members wish to commend you on your law enforcement. The majority of the people in each city, town and village will support you in your objective."

And the majority of the people *were* back of the governor. Letters began to swamp the members of the legislature—the largest avalanche of mail they had ever received, some of them said. Most of it favored the governor's program. The clinching argument on the way the people felt was revealed in a survey made by the *Minneapolis Tribune*. It found that 70 per cent approved, 23 per cent disapproved and 7 per cent were undecided. So the opposition began to weaken and the legislature acted. The final vote on Youngdahl's proposed law was 96-9 in favor in the house and 58-0 in the senate.

### *The Churches Do Their Part*

Throughout this campaign the churches played a significant part. Early in the legislative season leaders of the St. Paul council of churches saw that the governor was engaged in a battle in which he would need help. At once they petitioned the Minnesota church council to create a committee which would rally the pastors and church people of the state to the support of the anti-gambling legislation. Urgent letters went out to every pastor, asking him to press his parishioners to write their representatives. A committee from the council called on key legislators. Nearly every denominational body in the state backed these efforts by official action.

Once the law was passed, the slot machines disappeared rapidly. Mayors and sheriffs posted warnings of the new enforcement policy. County newspapers all over the state carried their admonitions. Some business places, feeling that the crackdown was inevitable sooner or later, disposed of their machines without further ado. A few marveled that they had escaped for so many years. One café owner said he was "glad they were gone." Reminiscent of "Kilroy was here" was the slogan a night club operator

scrawled on the vacant wall where his machines had stood: "Youngdahl was here!"

A year later, have the slot machines come back to Minnesota? To find the answer to that question I interviewed a half-dozen leaders in as many areas of life. Among them was a key man in the Minnesota good government league who for the past eight years has been the state's outstanding moral crusader. "No protection is given to clubs or organizations as formerly," he said, "and I do not believe there is a single slot machine in operation in the entire state." This leader is convinced that without the foundation work of the league in publicizing the moral conditions throughout the counties during the preceding years, Youngdahl's program would probably not have received sufficient popular support to pass. He says that 63 per cent of the people are church members and that if they are willing to express the teachings they profess, the slot machines will stay away.

### *Uniform Enforcement Does It*

The general feeling is that, for at least three reasons, Minnesota is rid of the gambling racket so long as Youngdahl remains in office. First, the sheriffs throughout the state stand behind him. Meeting several weeks ago in their annual convention, the law-enforcement officials went on record as being wholeheartedly in favor of the governor's program after nearly a year of trial. "Previously," their president said, "when a sheriff tried to clean up illegal conditions in one county he was handicapped by conditions in adjoining counties and oftentimes made another sheriff look bad. When uniform enforcement is demanded and obtained in 87 counties, it is a tremendous help to all of us."

Second, the governor makes no exceptions. Several Roman Catholic churches canceled carnival plans which involved "prizes" of a new automobile, a refrigerator and some other items. All priests have been notified by the archbishop of the St. Paul diocese that gambling in any parish program will bring severe penalties. Even the American Legion posts have had to give way. The governor himself is a legion leader but he has told many posts: "It is a fallacy to say in one breath that we will support law and order, and in the next—to have slot machines to maintain the clubhouse."

Third, the governor is a man of determination and courage. Speaking to the Knights of Columbus in St. Paul he made it plain that "gambling devices in Minnesota aren't to be placed in storage just a couple of months. Operators who don't want to store them for the next two years [Youngdahl's term of office] had better sell them."

### *The Governor's Goals*

But this law-enforcement struggle realized only part of Youngdahl's major legislative goals. His basic concern is the enrichment of human lives. Agreeing with General MacArthur that our need is for spiritual regeneration, he believes this must take place through the home, church and school. Consequently, as he reviewed his first year's work, he rated the establishment of his youth conservation commission as the greatest single accomplishment during 1947. The purpose of this commission is to attack the causes of delinquency and provide specialized treatment for youthful offenders on a statewide scale. "We must build character in the high chair rather than burn our youth to extinction in the electric chair," the governor says.

During the year the legislature voted the largest appropriation ever made for public education in Minnesota. It also passed legislation for low-rent housing; increased allotments for old-age pensioners, mothers of dependent children and the blind; and improvement of public health facilities for rural areas. Youngdahl considers mental health legislation his major project for 1948. To his declaration that "instead of mental health care being too expensive, it is the soundest investment in the future—an investment in human values," the legislature responded by approving a $5,000,000 building and improvement program for the care of the mentally ill. The governor believes that "a people who can pay for a war can pay to keep and improve what they fought for."

Youngdahl has a notable and deserved reputation as a labor conciliator. In one dispute he spent more than eighty hours in conferences and meetings. His feeling is that "men can't stay bitter and unyielding forever if they sit down together and honestly try to examine their differences."

### *Swedish Background*

At this writing Governor and Mrs. Youngdahl are visiting Scandinavia. The governor is anxious to gather first-hand information on the displaced-person problem. Under his direction a commission of Minnesota clergymen, educators and labor leaders is making a survey—the first in the nation—to determine how many D.P.'s would be welcomed by Minnesotans and given employment and housing if Congress adopts the legislation permitting their entry. He has already planned to meet with a dozen other midwest governors on his return to work out a common strategy.

The Youngdahls will spend some time in Sweden, the land of their parents. His sturdy Swedish background goes far to explain Luther Youngdahl. His father began life in this country as a commercial fisherman on Lake Superior. Later he opened a grocery store in Minneapolis where Luther ran errands. Graduating from church-related Gustavus Adolphus College, the young man completed his law course at the University of Minnesota. By 1942 he was a judge of the state supreme court, a position from which he resigned to run for governor.

### *Faith Is the Rock*

At the base of the governor's character, however, is his strong religious faith. All his life his interests have been the interests of the church. He serves on the board of administration of Messiah Lutheran Church (Augustana), Minneapolis. He has been active in the Big Brother movement, the Boy Scouts, the Y.M.C.A. and the Parent-Teachers' Association. Six-foot-two and 51 years of age, he has a youthful, friendly face which reflects the fact that he neither drinks nor smokes. He is more at home leading a choral group or speaking at a church service than in the smoke-filled rooms of the politicians. He lives a clean athletic life and is a great lover of the out-of-doors.

Of his four living brothers, one is dean of the school of music at Augustana College, Sioux Falls, South Dakota;

one is dean of the school of social work at Washington University, St. Louis; one is an attorney in Los Angeles; and one is pastor of a large Lutheran congregation in Minneapolis. A fifth brother, now deceased, was a member of Congress. Of his two sisters, one is the wife of the pastor of Augustana Lutheran Church, Washington, D. C. The governor's own wife is a minister's daughter and one of his two sons is studying for the ministry.

He has two strong convictions about Christianity. First, Christians must learn to work together. And to prove that he means this, he served as one of the national sponsors of the Crusade for a United Church and personally presided at the mass meetings in the Twin Cities and Duluth. When he introduced E. Stanley Jones at the St. Paul meeting, he told how, many years before, he had been profoundly influenced by Dr. Jones' appeal for Christian men who would seriously apply the principles of Christianity in the political field.

His second conviction is that Christians must apply their religion to life. When he was selected as the Reformation Sunday speaker by the Protestant council of New York city, his subject was, "Can Religion Work in Politics?" "In the Reformation tradition, we need to appreciate that we are personally responsible for the political conduct of our democracy," the governor said. "Christians need to come forward willingly to accept the obligations of leadership and service in political and civic life as never before in the history of our nation. We dare not keep our religion in a closed compartment. We will have good government only if Christian men and women have the courage of their convictions."

Addressing the Minnesota pastors' conference not long ago, the governor summed up his convictions in his closing words: "The church can have the kind of society it is willing to *tolerate*, or the kind of society it is willing to *fight for*."

# Why They Fear America

By Adolph Keller

REINHOLD NIEBUHR'S article, "They All Fear America," published in The Christian Century last August 20 after his return from an extensive journey on the Continent, deserves a careful answer based on intimate knowledge of the Continent or at least of central and western Europe. Such knowledge cannot be got in a visit of a few months or even of a year or two.

It would be worth while, in order to clarify the present transatlantic dialogue, to look deeper into the problem of understanding between America and Germany than is possible in this paper. The report brought back by Professor Niebuhr, a lecturer in the Ecumenical Seminar and the Ecumenical Institute, should be answered first by a question: *Why* do they all fear America?

It must be said of course that such a generality does not quite correspond to the facts. Switzerland, for example, and other small countries have never looked with fear toward their great democratic sister republic. Even Germany, or at least that part of it that resisted Hitler, in the beginning looked hopefully toward the United States and greeted the American army as a liberator.

### *Failure to Understand*

How did it happen that this feeling of hope and confidence was blotted out in so short a time, as Niebuhr correctly observed? In answering that question I do not have in mind certain faults in the treatment of Germany by the armies of occupation. Even a military government, especially one administering an occupied country, has to go through an apprenticeship. It will make mistakes because of the omnipresent "human, all too human" element. Today, to be sure, objective American observers are openly criticizing the blunders and injustices committed by the occupying forces. The worst effects of the Allied regime, however, spring not from the harsh treatment it has meted out—harshness was perhaps unavoidable—but from its lack of understanding of the German mind.

No doubt in certain places an effort was made to understand the German, but it was not sufficient. It did not go to the depths of the complicated problems of history, political structure, religious and social facts. Nor did the occupying forces consent to accept the help of qualified Germans of the resistance, or of a well intentioned elite of Switzerland, which possesses as does no other foreign nation a deep critical understanding of its neighbor in respect to language, culture, psychology and religion. Judging or educating another nation presupposes full knowledge of many underlying problems. That knowledge was wanting.

### *Democracy Not Demonstrated*

Again, what the Allied forces brought into western and southern Germany was by no means a convincing illustration of democratic methods or of the spirit of liberty. The friendly and anti-nazi element in Germany, including many within the churches, Catholic as well as Protestant, complained that too often the Allies used violence and employed administrative methods hardly distinguishable from those of the Hitler gang. Is this really democracy? they asked. Americans surely ought to know that no democratic education is possible without a minimum of respect for human personality. This boat too was missed.

Third, the continuing lack of differentiation between war criminals and suspicious and unreliable elements on the one hand, and on the other those who had resisted or had been under the rule of an incredible terror, allowed not the slightest liberty of action. All Germans were treated alike. This was understandable during the first period of occupation. But it became a fixed policy. This attitude toward those who deserved confidence and a new chance

was felt and bitterly resented. Trustworthy church leaders like Bishop Wurm, Meiser, Niemöller, Cardinal Faulhaber repeatedly protested against it. The first wave of denazification and of trials in Nüremberg had to be imposed on the heart and conscience of the German people. A second wave was perhaps bound to follow in order to make the cleansing process thorough. But the continuation of these trials—whose legality is contested—has had a damaging effect on the German mind and is harmful to the effort to re-educate and win the confidence of the best elements in Germany.

### *Tragic Victims*

The whole procedure in the later series of trials shows a lack of discrimination between what was criminal and what was rather of a *tragic* nature in the psychology of officials in a police and militaristic state. All these functionaries, from secretaries of state down to ordinary schoolmasters and ministers, lived under an unheard-of pressure on their consciences. Who of them could be a hero and declare: "Here I stand, I can do no other"? If he did so, he was simply shot like Pastor Schneider or thrown into a concentration camp like Niemöller, and thus could not render the highest service to the nation: to maintain the spirit of resistance and keep alive patience and belief in nobler ideals.

I am not informed of the accusations under which the former secretary of state, Von Weizsaecker, stands today at Nüremberg, nor do I desire to interfere in any way with official procedure. But I know enough from personal knowledge to be sure that Weizsaecker is rather an example of that tragic character of which I spoke and not a criminal nature devoid of human sympathy or a sense of responsibility. What he did for prisoners and other groups had to be done in the utmost secrecy, all the more so since the failure of the resistance and later of the various bomb-attacks on the dictator's life seemed to show that Hitler was protected, if not by the gods then by the devil.

### *Bigness and Imperialism*

"Why do they all fear us?" to quote Reinhold Niebuhr once more. A psychological explanation of European politics does not tell the whole story. Other grounds for fear are all too discernible. Europe fears America because its own inferiority complex faces the tremendous power complex of a land not yet tamed or transfigured by the ethos of moral responsibility in the use of power. Europe fears America because its own historic consciousness clashes with America's impatient pragmatic consciousness, which has no time to travel the road toward mutual understanding. The small nations of the Continent tremble for the fate of the original democratic ideal because they see it entering the danger zone of irresponsible bigness. They fear the political and commercial lure that a new imperialism will hold for America.

European piety, having gone through the fight with principalities and powers, is imbued with eschatological pessimism, and fears American optimism and Emersonian self-reliance. The American mind was well described to me by Walter Lippmann. "Don't forget," he said, "that the average American no longer knows what sin is." Reinhold Niebuhr is perhaps that rare specimen among American theologians who is aware of the deeper psychological and theological differences involved in the American-European dialogue to which he is contributing so much.

Yet Europe is not all fear. There is a European elite which is not afraid of America. Standing at a new frontier, it looks over the invisible fence into the "bewildering American experiment and laboratory where a new world ideal of liberty, justice and world fellowship, a new faith in man and in God, is seeking its way toward incarnation." This elite sees through the secular curtain the unborn higher qualities, the "messianic" vocation of America, and it cherishes the belief that Lord Bryce was a true prophet when he said that in the long run America will always try to do what is right. International life hitherto has not educated us Europeans for hero worship.

But we in Europe may hope that those in America who know something about our seers and sages and artists also know what Europe has given to the world. Here a holy remnant still lives, like a budding branch growing out of a half-burnt stump and drawing new life from deeper roots—from our historic past, from faith in divine guidance, and from the hope that in spite of all a close understanding between America and Europe and their collaboration in the spirit of Christ is one of the rare promises of the present.

# *BOOKS*

## Two Views of Paul

PAUL. *By Edgar J. Goodspeed. John C. Winston Company, $2.50.*

THE JEW OF TARSUS. *By Hugh J. Schonfield. The Macmillan Company, $2.50.*

NO ONE in this country, probably no one in the world, has done more to popularize the study of the Bible than Dr. E. J. Goodspeed. This does not mean that he has merely written up the "assured results of criticism"—as the phrase went in the '90's and early 1900's; for almost anyone, given "the pen of a ready writer," could do that. Instead, Dr. Goodspeed is an independent and original scholar, a sound lexicographer and editor of ancient texts, a thorough exegete, a gifted translator, biographer, essayist and historian who, for all his massive scholarship, has the superb gift of a clear and interesting style; he can write so that non-specialists can understand him, and he can speak with the magnetism that inspires his hearers with an interest and enthusiasm akin to his own. I mean what I say quite literally: he has made the *study* of the Bible popular. I myself could name offhand a score of people who have gone through his recent *How to Read the Bible,* and have then proceeded to study the Bible for themselves, some of them for the first time in their lives. That is a real achievement, these days, when the daily newspapers, the news weeklies and the picture magazines, and the literary monthlies—plus an occasional "best seller"—use up about all the spare time (or energy) the average person has for reading.

Back of the present volume lie many years of patient research and exposition, and also—one suspects—much travel. The research is not dragged into the open, but it is there—like the anatomy in Michelangelo's painting. Nor does the author obtrude himself or his journeys; yet he must have

seen the Cilician Gates with his own eyes, and the wall of Damascus, and Puteoli, where Seneca looked down from his villa on the hillside and watched the lumbering grain fleet come in from Egypt. This is a biography, and has all the vividness and charm of a great historian's mastery of detail matched with a novelist's skill in narration. (Alas, how much popular writing about the Bible or on biblical themes is padded with false and impossible stuff—details two centuries off, customs lifted and shifted from one end of the Mediterranean to the other or clear across the Arabian desert!)

Dr. Goodspeed's views are conservative on many points. He still thinks the narrative of Acts and the data of the Pauline epistles can be combined. He would not think of trying to write a life of Paul based on the epistles alone. He thinks Paul went to Jerusalem to become a rabbi. Moreover he does not attempt to elucidate the Pauline theology—there are plenty of good books on that subject (I might mention the excellent recent one by Prof. H. F. Rall, *According to Paul*); this is a biography. But the heart of St. Paul's theology is here: at his conversion "he had not just lightly added Jesus to his Jewish theology, as the Messiah foretold by the prophets; he had seen in him the transformation of his whole religious world" (p. 21).

The concluding chapter ("The Return of Paul") deals with the later collection of the apostle's letters—a stage in the history of the canon upon which Dr. Goodspeed has turned a flood of light—and with the later influence of Paul, especially upon several of the other New Testament books.

> Certainly Paul has dominated Christian theology ever since the first century, and he is still revealing new moral values in the mid-twentieth. It was he who saw in the struggling Jewish sect of the Nazarenes the great world religion Jesus came to found, and proclaimed and established it. It was his letters, exhumed and published thirty years after his death, that brought the Christian movement a spiritual, moral and intellectual reinforcement of immense value. It was as if Paul himself had come back to lead a fresh attack upon the principalities and the powers of ancient paganism, and his letters have remained through the centuries and still are among the most potent, dynamic and enduring literary forces in the world.

Mr. Schonfield's is a different kind of book. It is subtitled "An Unorthodox Portrait of Paul." As in his other books (*Jesus: A Biography*, for example), the author works in the area of Judaism, of the Jewish "background" (pretty much foreground!) of early Christianity, of what used to be called—before Professor Riddle—"Jewish Christianity," but which ought probably to be termed "Early Christian Judaism." Whatever we call it, here is an area of vast importance, for the study not only of Paul but of the whole New Testament and the rise of Christianity generally. Mr. Schonfield has made wide use of the sources. He even gives us six of the "Odes of Solomon," to illustrate Ephesians 5:14, holding that they "preserve for us the true orthodoxy of the early Church in poetic form" (p. 211). He accounts for Paul's Christology, in part, by reference to the *Ma'aseh Bereshith* ("Lore of Creation") in spite of its late date, its occult character, and its repudiation by the rabbis. But one feels uneasily certain that, for all the overstrained argument, there is something here which is worth further study (p. 202A). His general view is conservative: St. James wrote the Epistle to the Dispersion which bears his name; St. Paul wrote the Pastoral Letters—albeit he died in 63 (the author will have nothing to do with the theory of a second imprisonment in Rome).

The book is an important one, but it must be read with discrimination—as its author would surely wish it read. There are arguments, inferences, assumptions on every page, of which the non-expert may not be aware. But the general effect is good. It compels the reader to face the fact that St. Paul *was* a first century Jew, not a Reformation theologian, nor a twentieth century Protestant missionary (or Catholic either!); a prodigiously fertile, energetic, creative personality, with a mind restless and driven, always working at high pressure, a spiritual zealot and devotee. Even the overstatements in this book help to bring out certain features of the apostle's thought which have long been overlooked. For example:

> Few Christians now accept the teaching of Paul; for if they did they would have to hold not only the identity of the Church and Israel, but that all who become Christians immediately surrender their former nationality in favor of Israelite nationality. According to Paul, if you are a Christian you belong to another nation with another allegiance spiritually and actually, and in the country of your birth or choice your status is that of a friendly alien. If the Church had followed Paul we should see it today as a distinct nation, and not simply as a distant religion. Baptism is more than an act of faith, it is a rite of naturalisation.
>
> Paul's demand, put plainly, was "Equal Israelite citizenship for all ex-Gentiles on terms of faith in Jesus as Messiah."

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

# Books in Brief

HERITAGE OF FREEDOM, THE HISTORY AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BASIC DOCUMENTS OF AMERICAN LIBERTY. *By Frank Monaghan. Princeton University Press, $3.50.* The "Freedom Train" has made its rounds, giving citizens in every part of the country an opportunity to see the originals of many of the basic documents of American history. This "official book of the Freedom Train" presents facsimiles of more than 30 of these documents, the full texts of others, digests of those too long to reprint in full, and historical introductions to all. The very famous ones are of course included, but there are many others which are important though less well known. For example, as evidence that the unique quality and ground of religious liberty in the United States were recognized from the beginning, there is the facsimile of a letter, dated in August 1790, in which President Washington writes to the Hebrew congregation in Newport, Rhode Island: "The citizens of the United States of America have a right to applaud themselves for having given to mankind examples of an enlarged and liberal policy: a policy worthy of imitation. All profess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship. It is now no more that toleration is spoken of, as if it was by the indulgence of one class of people that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights. For happily the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens, in giving it on all occasions their effectual support." The "bigotry" which Washington repudiates was the contrary theory—first explicitly renounced in America, but still widely held in other countries—that only the members of one established church can be first-class citizens.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF TYCHO BRAHE. *By John Allyne Gade. Princeton University Press, $3.50.* The five men who made modern astronomy were: Copernicus, Tycho Brahe (1546-1601), Galileo, Kepler and Newton. They were, respectively, Polish, Danish, Italian, German and English.

Copernicus died three years before Brahe was born. These two were astronomers without telescopes. Kepler was Brahe's assistant at Prague; he completed the astronomical tables which were the most important part of Brahe's contribution, became his successor in patronage by the emperor, and later got one of the new telescopes that Galileo (his senior by seven years) had invented. Newton was born in the year that Galileo died (1642). That is a chronological diagram to show where Tycho Brahe fits into the history of the science. He was a brilliant and bumptious person, erratic in everything except his passionate and persistent devotion to astronomy. (He got his nose cut off in a duel and thereafter wore a metal one.) The king of Denmark made him the feudal lord of an island, over which he was a very bad landlord but on which he built a marvelous observatory equipped with ingenious and expensive instruments and surrounded by auxiliary laboratories and industries, including a print shop and a paper mill so that he could publish his own books. Mr. Gade tells as much about Tycho Brahe's scientific work as most laymen will want to know or could understand, but his chief interest is in the extraordinary personality and the turbulent career of his subject.

THE RISE OF THE SPANISH AMERICAN EMPIRE. *By Salvador de Madariaga. Macmillan, $5.00.* Madariaga the Spaniard, like Santayana, can write English as few can for whom it is the native tongue. As a colorful and kaleidoscopic pageant of Spanish America in its early phases, this book is superb. It is also a disappointment, for it shows what a distorted picture can be produced by a highly intelligent man, who is also a competent (though not a professional) historian, when he sets out to prove a thesis to which he has an emotional commitment in advance. Many American historians, of course, have fallen into a similar trap. Madariaga's purpose is to vindicate Spanish military, civil and ecclesiastical policy in the conquest and during a century or more thereafter. (Two subsequent volumes will carry on the story, and perhaps the argument.) The shortcomings and overreachings of many individuals are admitted and, indeed, brilliantly depicted. The church regime at certain times and places—e.g., Peru in the seventeenth century—does not make a pretty picture. But the whole book is designed to prove the general excellence of the Spanish program as compared with any other of its time. For example, the Inquisition is portrayed as, by and large, a kindly and beneficent institution which, though not without some foibles from our modern standpoint, was at least "less cruel, less superstitious and less benighted than the average practice of the age elsewhere." The rest is in the same vein. As an argument to prove a point, the book is shot through with fallacies, but its details are excellent. Many important, interesting and well documented facts are presented.

# *CORRESPONDENCE*

## Gandhi's Death—the Indian Reaction

SIR: I am on a plane leaving Delhi for Madras and Colombo. I was in Delhi only 14 hours, and yet those 14 hours were the most tragedy-packed and hope-inspiring I have ever experienced. I had asked a friend to arrange an interview with Mahatma Gandhi but I found on arrival that the only chance I had to see him would be to go to his daily prayer meeting. If I could get a taxi I could just make it, but owing to an engagement later I decided against it. I came near witnessing a tragedy second only to the crucifixion of the Son of God.

In a way I am grateful I was spared that, but I am more deeply grateful for what I saw as I looked into the soul of a grief-stricken nation. Never have I seen anything so spontaneous as the grief and sorrow that seized the soul of India, as in a moment. I was pacing up and down in meditation when the playing of games on the field next to me suddenly stopped and one of the players came to me with the news. Everybody was stunned as if by the dropping of an atom bomb. An Englishman drove up and was told that the play was canceled and blurted out, "My God, I've come eight miles." Then when he was told the reason he was stunned as every Indian was stunned. We gathered in little clusters and stood in silence before the Great Sorrow.

When we gathered at the radio to hear Jawahar Lal's and Vallabhai Patel's addresses strong men wept, soldiers among them. How could they do otherwise, for these two iron men who had gone to jail without a quiver or murmur were so shaken they could not speak except in broken sentences? Shops closed, bazaars closed, everything closed as by a silent, inexorable command. After the radio we walked three miles to join the hundreds of thousands who flocked to get a glimpse of Gandhi even in death. The crowds were kept out of the spacious grounds of the richest industrialist of India, where the mahatma had fasted and where he lay in death. My white face got me in. But the hour was late and I could only stand outside the chamber and do my homage to a great soul—the greatest of this age.

A Hindu whispered to me, "And this is Friday too." I pick up my paper and find this: "He came to a Christlike end, is the universal comment." An editorial in the *Hindu* of Madras says: "He was the second savior"—this by a non-Christian.

A madman thought he could get rid of Gandhi with a bullet. He has shot him into immortality. Snuff him out? Millions around the world are talking about him as I speed through the air in this plane. His teaching and attitudes will be studied anew, everywhere.

The first reaction of my Indian friends was fear. Faces turned pale with fear of what would happen. With his restraining influence gone, would not chaos ensue? I felt that Gandhi would do in his death as much as and possibly more than he did with his life. For he died a martyr to peace. The man who shot him was a fellow Hindu who was resentful of Gandhi's peace efforts to bring Hindu and Moslem together. For Gandhi in his fast laid down seven points to fulfill before he would break the fast and all seven were in favor of the Moslems. So Gandhi died as Lincoln died a martyr to his wanting peace and healing.

Gandhi will grow through the years. It is better that he went this way, if one may say such a thing, than if he had lived and gradually fallen to pieces. Now he is a martyr to a cause—the cause of peace. He lived a martyr and he died a martyr. His name will be more deeply loved and honored as the years and centuries go by. Gandhi won independence by non-violence and died in the cause of peace.

En route in India. E. STANLEY JONES.

## The Church Can Save Itself

SIR: I noted with interest in the Des Moines *Register* the editorial "As the Russians See Us" from The Christian Century of January 7, and also the *Register's* weak answer to it. I am glad it was published for it shows up the desperateness of the capitalism-at-any-costers as compared with those who mix humanity and at least a little sense of justice into their thinking.

Since The Christian Century is a religious periodical—and, thank God, an interdenominational one—it should be interested in peace, justice and the good life and living of people everywhere. Anyone so interested must now realize—the *Register's* editorial

notwithstanding—that these virtues and blessings cannot be had under capitalism, the profit system. That outmoded and corrupted system is living on long after it should have been replaced by socialism. That is the prime cause of the war and all the misery in the world today. It corrupts the people and all their institutions, especially the press and the churches, which are not free but beholden to the powers of greed. Capitalism, in this stage of corruption, makes peace to be nothing more than a period of robbing between two periods of fighting.

It is not well with the United States. The masses of our people do not live well. Our wealth is used for wickedness and war, and our Congress is at an all-time low. Only today we were told that some in our nation are going without oil for heating and many must suffer from shortage of fuel for some time; then comes Forrestal yelling for two billion more barrels of oil to waste in wicked war—the war we are making. Millions of our people do not have decent houses to live in and other millions don't have any houses at all. Many cannot have the necessities of life because of high food prices. Our aged are pinched by poverty and without much needed medical and hospital care.

Today the church is failing because of her contradictions, but she still has a last chance to save herself and mankind. After another capitalist-imperialist war the people will understand, as did the Russian people, that their church has failed them, and they will be through with it.

Edgewood, Iowa. MRS. A. H. MEYER.

## Japanese Ministers Near Exhaustion

SIR: Your emphasis upon the extreme urgency for missionary efforts in your recent editorial, "Now or Never in Japan," should reverberate throughout Christian churches in this land. Information that we receive from our Christian co-workers in Japan attest your evaluation of the never-to-return opportunities for the national conversion of Japan.

An infinitesimal amount of what our war efforts had planned for a military invasion of Japan would suffice for our proposed "spiritual invasion" of the same country. However, I see already our vanguard, the Japanese ministers themselves, in serious danger. Realizing fully their responsibilities for Christ and trying to match themselves with unprecedented challenges, Japanese church workers are fast exhausting themselves. In a recent letter a pastor's wife wrote me: "Some Sabbath mornings I see my husband stagger in the pulpit, because of malnutrition and overwork." A strong reinforcement, in missionary personnel, goods and money, is needed at once.

The possibility that we may neglect the conversion of a strategic nation of more than 70,000,000 souls to Christ in five years should disturb the "peace" of the Christian people everywhere.

Grant Community Methodist Church, TARO GOTO.
Spokane, Wash.

## Troops for Palestine?

SIR: The situation of European Jews is such as must almost drive them all to despair. Their lot lays a burden on every Christian conscience. But in this confusion, what can, what should one do or seek to have done? Politics, religion and humanitarianism are inseparably mixed in this, not only in Europe and Palestine but in the United States also.

Our politicians vie for the Jewish vote, Republicans and Democrats alike, especially in politically crucial New York. They espouse (with questionable good faith) the cause of Zionism and find themselves called upon to "make good" on promises lightly given. Hence, not primarily out of sympathy with the Jews but to win strategic New York in the next election, a special emissary of the administration was dispatched to the United Nations to bring pressure to bear on U. N. delegates of some Caribbean states and China over which the United States could wield the "big stick" (financially) to induce ("compel" would be more accurate) them to vote for partition, when it was their intention either to vote against it or to abstain from voting. The votes required to effect partition were thus secured. Without such unjustifiable American pressure the vote for partition could not have carried. It did carry against the better judgment of numerous delegates who cast affirmative ballots.

The real crux of this problem will have to be faced when the United States is called upon—and who doubts that we will be?—to provide troops to enforce partition. We shall be very fortunate if that contingency does not very much sharpen what has been almost negligible anti-Semitism in this country—a result to be sedulously avoided, or to be greatly deplored should it develop.

First Presbyterian Church, GEORGE W. ALLISON.
Fort Wayne, Ind.

## Marshall or Hoover?

SIR: Mr. Hoover believes that the European Recovery Program can be financed for the first 15 months by an appropriation of $4,000,000,000. Secretary Marshall believes that it will cost $6,800,000,000 for the same period. In the nature of the case, these figures are educated guesses. It is simply impossible, in the light of all the intangible factors of politics, weather and human reactions for anyone to produce a neat statement and say that European recovery will cost just so much: a dollar less will fail to do the job, and a dollar more would be unnecessary extravagance. How can the man in the street decide which of these educated guesses is more apt to be right? I think there are two criteria.

1. Which guess is based on the broader information? The answer would seem to be obvious. Secretary Marshall has available all the statistical data accumulated by every branch of our government that deals with the problem—the state department, the departments of agriculture, commerce, labor, war and the treasury. He has available the information at the disposal of the Export-Import Bank and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. He can call on the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, and he has of course the report of the Paris conference of the 16 nations that are included in the plan. For the evaluation of the factual data, he has at his disposal the services of the best brains of America, both inside and outside government.

Mr. Hoover has available the unofficial information which comes to him from the press and from his many personal contacts with leaders both in this country and abroad. He has no staff adequate to the task of digesting the information, and certainly no group of counselors to assist in its interpretation comparable to that at the disposal of the secretary of state. The contrast is between an official of cabinet rank, armed with all the resources of government, and a prominent private citizen, acting in his personal capacity.

2. Which man has shown the better understanding of complex problems in the past? Here again the evidence is conclusive. Secretary Marshall, as chief of staff of the United States army, made the basic strategic judgments that won for us the victory. Those judgments involved a consideration of a bewildering mass of varied, and often conflicting, considerations. As chief of staff he had to consider manpower, training, supplies, the geography of a global war, military and civilian morale, and the welding to a common purpose of the supreme efforts of all the Allied powers. How brilliantly he succeeded is a matter of history.

On the other hand, Mr. Hoover's record as an interpreter of social and political events is singularly unimpressive. In 1920 he said that the way to get the United States into the League of Nations was to vote for Mr. Harding—and Mr. Harding's first statement on the subject after the election was that American entrance into the league was a dead issue. In 1929 Mr. Hoover was President. He had at his disposal all the information provided by the departments of commerce, labor, agriculture, the treasury and the Federal Reserve Bank. On the basis of all their information and all the counsel he was able to get and willing to accept, he failed to foresee the depression. For months he denied its seriousness, and for three years he said, "Prosperity is just around the corner." In 1941 Mr. Hoover was convinced that the Axis powers were invincible. On June 29 of that year, in opposing aid to Great Britain, he said, "Does any sane person believe that by military means we can defeat two-thirds of the military power of the whole earth in even years and years?" If America had followed Mr.

Hoover's advice then, the Axis would have won the war. If we follow his advice now, the democracies may yet lose the peace.

Commission on Christian Social Relations,
Diocese of New York, Protestant Episcopal Church.
LELAND B. HENRY, Executive Director.

## Eyewitness on Palestine

SIR: It seems to me that Rabbi Bernstein's article in your February 4 issue calls for a few comments. During the school year of 1946-47 I taught in Amman, Transjordan, for the express purpose of gaining a better knowledge of both Arabs and Jews in that part of the world and also to study the geography of Palestine and adjacent countries. During that time I got around a bit from Dan to Beersheba and to places between where the ordinary tourist does not go. I have slept in Arab houses and Jewish communal colonies and have shared the food of both peoples. It is not my desire to argue either side of the situation in Palestine, but I do want to set forth a few facts as I have observed them.

Rabbi Bernstein says that Zionism has a profound religious motivation. If he uses the word "religious" here to denote zeal for a cause, his statement is true. In that sense Hitler had profound religious motivation. But that is not what we usually have in mind when the word is used. I must admit that I did not have any direct contacts with the Orthodox Jews; my contacts were mostly with those in or friendly to the communal colonies. In those contacts I found no zeal for religion as we are accustomed to think of it; I did find almost universal indifference to it. I very much liked the men with whom I ate and talked, but all of them seemed to think that there was no need to provide synagogues in the colonies—the few who were interested could go to a synagogue in one of the cities.

Rabbi Bernstein says that there is simply no place to send the great bulk of "Europe's surviving Jews." For that *we* must hang our heads in shame; we could easily—far more so than rocky Palestine—take in many of those Jews. The Arabs say that we want to get rid of the Jews and so want them to go to Palestine; I tried to convince those with whom I came in contact that such was not the case, but I wonder . . . It sounds very convincing to be told that one of the reasons we and some other countries cannot absorb the Jews is that they are not fitted to do the farming, lumbering and certain other kinds of manual labor now in demand in other parts of the world. However, one thing I shall not forget is the pride with which men in the colonies showed me the work they were doing on the land and their conviction that communal Zionism is very largely a "back to the land" movement.

First Congregational Church, Shelby, Mich.
OLIVER S. PAGE.

## Ministers Not Guilty

SIR: This will undoubtedly be one of many protests against the insinuation of E. Marcellus Nesbit that ministers clean their own back yards in the matter of funeral costs before pointing the finger of shame at "undertakers." As we know, ministers do accept small expressions of gratitude from families or individuals assisted at the time of death, but in 13 years I have yet to discover any minister who charges or even expects a fee for his services. A good many ministers expressly forbid it. Others accept it only for "discretionary funds." It is precisely because the item of the clergyman's fee has been eliminated these many years that clergymen dare take the stand that they do.

Congregational Church, Faribault, Minn.
RICHARD R. HULBERT.

## Dissenting from the Dissenter

SIR: Attempts to make us critically aware of the shortcomings of our own policy, especially in relation to the Soviet Union, are a valuable contribution to the cause of peace. It is unfortunate that those who render this service are sometimes too willing uncritically to embrace the Russian point of view, to the detriment of truth. This, I believe, applies to the article by Jerome Davis, "Russian Germany—A Dissenting Report." I wish to list a few points on which your contributor seems in disagreement with the facts rather than with general opinion.

1. The statement that "America has refused the Russian suggestion for a central German government" is hardly correct. The Potsdam agreement provided for administrative unification of Germany. The negotiations designed to implement this provision broke down chiefly because of Russian insistence that unification be made contingent upon fulfillment of their exorbitant reparation claims. This is the commonly accepted version of the story. No responsible journalist should try to give the lie to it without presenting evidence.

2. The article mentions 2,000,000 Germans expelled from territory now taken over by Poland and Czechoslovakia. The American and British experts have different figures. The number of Germans expelled in conformity with the Potsdam agreement from eastern territories is generally estimated at 12,000,000 and more. It is also estimated that from two to three million of these unfortunates died on the roads.

3. We have heard and read much about frightful conditions in concentration camps reopened by the Russians in their zone, about training camps which transform ardent nazis into ardent Communists, and the like. In the absence of clear evidence we have the right or even the duty to distrust these reports. But as to the high frequency of deportations of men of all age groups we do have what seems incontrovertible evidence. Since I am interested in relief work I am in contact with approximately 100 families in the Russian zone. Looking through my card index from A through K, I count 13 cases of individual deportations and one case of group deportation (director of a plant with his staff). I quote one of my card notes as an example: "Frau Gerda Kirsten, beg. Warmuth, (1) Klein Machnow bei Berlin, Leite 76. Delicate woman in the early forties, suffers from angina pectoris. Husband was a judge, and since he has never been a party member he was restored to his office after the occupation of Germany. On December 26, 1945, he was taken to the police office for 'a brief interrogation.' A few hours later the Russians came to his home to get clothing for him since he was to be taken away. In spite of great efforts made by his wife it has not been possible to find out why her husband has been removed and where. He was known to all his friends as a kindhearted and inoffensive person with no particular interest in politics." The truth of this report is vouched for by a high-ranking judge still in office in Berlin.

4. I have no very clear idea of the general food situation in the Russian zone. But I have details about the starvation diet in one of the great hospitals in Leipzig.

5. Your author's conclusion that Russia in her zone is slowly overcoming the hostility of the German population is at variance with my observations. My impression is rather that an increasing number of Germans in the Russian zone, among them many persons in remunerative and satisfactory positions, make frantic and sometimes successful attempts to escape into one of the western zones. The chief motive seems to be the fear of deportation and the lack of freedom and personal security. Of course, I can claim for these remarks only a reasonable probability because the number of cases on which they are based is limited. I am far from satisfied with the evidence at my disposal. But I am even less satisfied with the bits of evidence picked up by your touring correspondent and developed by him into misleading generalizations.

Emory University, Georgia.
HELMUT KUHN.

## Train Gravediggers!

SIR: If the next war between the giants is, as must be assumed, an atomic war, carried on by projectiles at a distance of thousands of miles, of what use are millions of trained soldiers? Would we not rather need trained stretcher-bearers and gravediggers?

Incidentally, since the women seem foremost in their demand for U. M. T., by all means conscript them. Two mothers in my presence have pointed to their 14-year-old boys standing by and said, "That's what I'm raising him for," meaning war.

Cynthiana, Ky.
H. G. PURCHASE.

# NEWS of the CHRISTIAN WORLD

## Indiana Pastors Oppose U.M.T.

**In Annual Conference, Adopt Resolution Against Proposed Plan—Huntington Forum Registers Similar Stand**

INDIANAPOLIS, Feb. 4.—Enactment of universal military training was opposed in a resolution adopted by the 17th Indiana pastors' conference held here last week. The resolution declared that adoption of such a program "would have an unwholesome effect upon the morals of our nation and its youth." The conference approved the resolution presented by Representative Gerald W. Landis for worldwide abolition of compulsory military service. Earlier in the month the Indianapolis ministerial association had taken unanimous action opposing peacetime conscription.

* * *

**Hear National Church Leaders**

Attendance at the pastors' conference was somewhat below that of other years because of the zero temperature. Speakers from outside the state were Charles P. Taft, president of the Federal Council of Churches; Roswell P. Barnes of the council staff; Frederick K. Stamm; Paul E. Scherer; C. Oscar Johnson; John B. Thompson, dean of the University of Chicago chapel; Milton R. Zigler of the Brethren Service Committee; and Prof. Edward A. McDowell of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. E. Craig Brandenburg of Bedford was elected president of the conference, succeeding Carlton W. Atwater of Indianapolis. Preceding the meeting of the pastors, the state council of churches held its annual business session and elected A. C. Brooks of this city president. General secretary of the council is Ralph Holland.

* * *

**Huntington Forum Votes Against U.M.T.**

Some time ago the people of Huntington, Ind., heard in their community forum a debate on compulsory military training. Congressman Forrest Harness served as chairman. The affirmative side was upheld by Lt. Col. M. D. Campbell, director of national defense for the American Legion; the negative by Prof. Alonzo F. Myers of New York University. When at the conclusion of the debate the audience was polled on its attitude toward conscription, 367 were opposed, 62 in favor and 19 undecided. There has been much comment on the fact that the vote contradicts claims of war department propagandists that a large majority of the people of the country favor peacetime conscription. Veterans in the audience voted against the proposal 33 to 16; farmers, 54 to 0; ministers, 23 to 1; women, 147 to 24; students, 47 to 1.

* * *

**Laymen Meet in Indianapolis**

Two important laymen's gatherings were recently held in this area. Over the Jan. 25 week end 500 Methodist laymen from all over the state came together here in a retreat. They heard addresses by J. C. Penney, chain store magnate, Senator Homer Capehart and President Clyde Wildman of DePauw University. Presiding officer was E. J. Fricke, lay leader of the Indiana Methodist conference. Earlier in January the national laymen's advisory board of the Disciples of Christ met here under the leadership of W. H. McKinney, the denomination's secretary for laymen's work.

* * *

**Professors Hearst Press Called 'Communists' Win Retraction**

When the Hearst papers undertook some time ago to pin the "communist" label on Dean B. C. Gavit and Prof. W. Howard Mann, highly respected members of the Indiana University law school faculty, the two men chose to sue the Hearst press for $400,000. After some deliberation, the defendant arranged for retraction of the charge in seven papers and made an out-of-court settlement of $25,000 in order to have the case called off. *Time* carried the story, but most Indiana newspapers apparently did not consider the news of headline importance, in spite of the fact that the university had issued a press release on the case.

* * *

**And So Forth**

The Disciples of Christ Board of Church Extension at its annual meeting here Jan. 28 honored its retiring advisory architect, A. F. Wickes, and its general secretary, John H. Booth, who will retire in May after 37 years with the board. W. T. Pearcy, now treasurer of the board, has been elected to succeed Dr. Booth.

The St. Joseph county (South Bend) council of churches has purchased a house for its secretary and is raising $13,000 to pay for it. The council has just ended a series of leadership schools, one conducted in South Bend and one in Mishawaka.

In December the Indianapolis church federation completed a successful annual session of its school of churchmanship. Five sessions were held, with six courses in each. Another recent project of the federation was a demonstration school for children's workers.

A plea for reconciliation of differences between Russia and the United States was made by Catherine Stratman Sims, assistant professor of history at Agnes Scott College, when she addressed the Indianapolis business and professional women's club Jan. 22. Dr. Sims declared that "if we accept a theory of irreconcilability of different systems, we are condemning humanity to endless struggle."

GEORGE WALKER BUCKNER, JR.

**Help for German Protestants**

Letters continue to reach the office of The Christian Century asking for the names of individual German pastors and lay church leaders who are in need of aid. Such requests should be sent to the Emergency Committee for German Protestantism, Inc., 325 Central Park West, New York 25, N. Y. This is the committee of which Otto A. Piper of Princeton is a founder and Frederick J. Forell the corresponding secretary.

## Warn Democratic Leaders on Race

**Alabama Committee Threatens Defiance if Any Anti-Segregation Plank Is Inserted in Party Platform**

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., Feb. 2.—Meeting in Montgomery last week, the state Democratic executive committee served formal notice on party leaders that Alabama's delegates to next summer's national convention will resist any and every effort to insert an anti-segregation plank in the party platform. The resolution adopted stated that "Democrats of Alabama are with justification alarmed at the attacks upon racial segregation stemming from within the party, especially [those] contained in the recent ill considered recommendation of the President's committee on civil rights," and that "such segregation is the bedrock of our way of life, from which we will not be driven." If any proposal that would "directly or indirectly allow any federal legislation which would abolish or tend to abolish racial segregation" is inserted in the Democratic platform, say the leaders, "every southerner would be forced into the undesired position of determining which is the greater loyalty, to the south or to the party." Despite this straight talk by state political leaders, most Alabamans believe that they will stick to the Democratic party and vote its ticket straight, no matter what the platform contains.

* * *

**Freedom Train By-passes Birmingham**

The Freedom Train by-passed Birmingham after the city commissioners insisted that there must be two lines passing through the exhibit, one of whites and one of Negroes. At Mobile, Montgomery and Tuscaloosa, where segregation was not insisted upon, no trouble was encountered. When the Birmingham commissioners' decision was announced, citizens bombarded the newspapers with letters heaping derision upon the officials for their stand. One writer suggested a "Birmingham plan," whereby downtown stores should admit 25 whites to do their shopping, then permit 25 Negroes to do theirs; and whereby traffic policemen, to prevent racial trouble at street crossings, might first let 25 whites cross the street, then 25 Negroes. Editorials in local and other papers deplored the action. After cancellation of the scheduled stop here, the little town of Jasper, 40 miles away, requested that the train stop there, announcing that there would be no segregation or discrimination.

* * *

**Honor George W. Carver**

Alabamans who loved and honored George Washington Carver, famous Negro scientist, paid respect to his memory when the first examples of the special three-cent stamp issue struck in his honor were brought here from Washington by Postmaster General Jesse M. Donaldson. President Truman sent a letter of congratulations to F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute.

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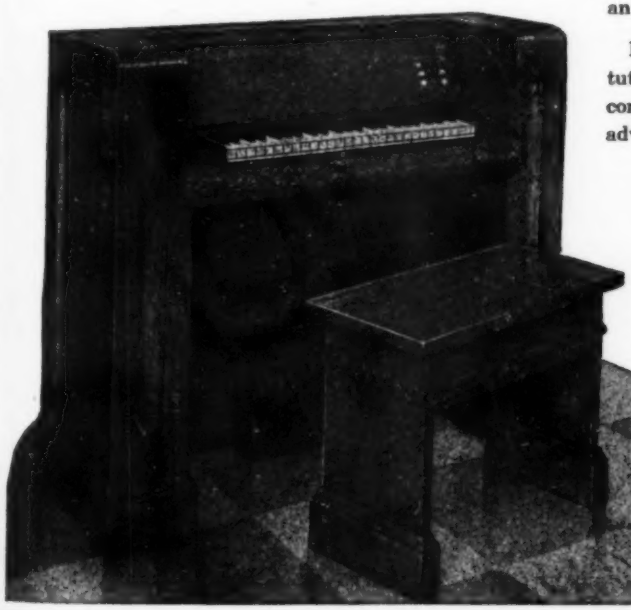

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Among those on the commemoration program were Governor Folsom and Thomas W. Martin, president of the Alabama Power Co. and chairman of the Southern research institute board. Daily and weekly newspapers over the state carried editorials praising Dr. Carver's life and work.

* * *

### Legion Commander Urges U.M.T.

James F. O'Neil, national commander of the American Legion, told 300 Alabama legionnaires assembled at a banquet held here recently in his honor that the legion has put on the "greatest nationwide drive in its history" to get a bill for universal military training through this session of Congress. Although he expressed doubt that any bill would pass at this session, he urged support of the idea both in his address and at a news conference held upon his arrival. "You have to remember that this is election year," he said, "but it is also a poor time for our legislators to play politics." He labeled as ridiculous the assertions of Henry Wallace and Senator Taft that such training would lead to a "shooting war." Although he declared that there are some indications that our country is winning its "cold war" with Russia, O'Neil insisted that "there is no reason why we shouldn't be prepared" for a shooting war and that "America must be prepared to meet force with force." "Legislators who oppose military training for reasons expounded by isolationists, dreamers, pacifists and others are bartering with the lives of Americans and the peaceful world we seek to build," he said. During his stay here O'Neil was presented with a gold key to the city.

* * *

### And So Forth

In a recent address at Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Ellis Arnall, formerly governor of Georgia, called for adequate education, proper medical care and a job for every boy and girl regardless of race, creed or residence.

The Birmingham Methodist pastors' union has adopted a resolution reminding the public that the Methodist Federation for Social Action is "an unofficial body which cannot speak for the Methodist Church." Some of the local laymen and ministers were much disturbed by newspaper accounts of pronouncements made at the recent meeting of the federation.

Alabama is in the midst of a campaign which seeks to raise $2,500,000 for the Methodist and Baptist colleges in Birmingham—Birmingham-Southern and Howard. Other denominations are cooperating in the drive. Birmingham has raised most of its $1,000,000 quota.

Roman Catholic Bishop T. J. Toolen of the Mobile diocese is calling upon every Catholic to join the "mass league" soon to be formed. He points out that it will not be necessary to attend mass every morning to join the league, but simply to go at least one morning a week besides Sunday.

ACTON E. MIDDLEBROOKS.

### Hungarian Lutherans Protest Expulsions

The college of bishops of the Hungarian Lutheran Church has protested to the government concerning the methods employed in expelling the German-speaking minority from Hungary. They urged a thorough investigation of the situation.

# Protestant Fund Goal: $650,000

**New York Joint Appeal Is Launched at Jan. 29 Meeting—Urge Continuing Aid to European Children**

NEW YORK, Feb. 6.—The second annual campaign of the Protestant fund of Greater New York was launched Jan. 29 at a dinner held at the Hotel Roosevelt. The fund's goal for the coming year is $650,000 to meet the combined operating budgets of the federation of Protestant welfare agencies and the Protestant council in the fields of child care, youth work, care of the aged, Christian education, church cooperation, human relations, student and veteran guidance, leadership training, evangelism and "other [activities] essential to a stronger and better community." At the dinner, speeches were made by Charles E. Wilson, president of General Electric and chairman of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights; Ralph W. Sockman of Christ Methodist Church; Bishop Arne Fjellbu of Norway, who recently arrived for a speaking tour in this country; and Henry G. Hotchkiss, chairman of the fund's 1948 campaign. Should the campaign fail, said Mr. Hotchkiss, it "would constitute a serious threat to the position and influence of Protestants in the community." The goal set, he declared, represents the minimum need.

* * *

### Says Aid to Children Must Supplement Plans

At the 16th annual meeting of the Save the Children Federation here last week, Robert P. Patterson, former secretary of war and chairman of the executive committee for the Marshall plan, urged continuation of private aid to European children in addition to the proposed Marshall plan program. The federation voted to carry into Austria a welfare program similar to those it conducts in Finland, France, Holland and Greece, where it sponsors schools, cares for individual children and provides layettes for babies. Mr. Patterson declared that, despite the proposed official aid, European children for years to come will need food, clothing, school supplies and services. Charles R. Joy, associate executive director of the federation, described the plight of children as he observed it on a recent trip to Europe. Elizabeth Fullerton, field representative, told of the work the federation carries on in isolated rural areas in this country. John Q. Tilson, former congressman from Connecticut, was elected new president of the board.

* * *

### Mourn Death Of Gandhi

When news of the assassination of Mohandas Gandhi reached the city, resolutions were passed at meetings and special gatherings were called to memorialize the great apostle of non-violence. Leaders of the Foreign Missions Conference and the Federal Council said that Gandhi's death marked "the passing of a truly great soul and servant of humanity, who devoted his life to the attainment of peace for which Christians so fervently pray." On Monday the India League of America sponsored a

luncheon in honor of Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla, president of the All-India States' People's Conference, recently released from prison in Kashmir province. A Mohammedan who opposes Pakistan, Abdulla said: "There are 35,000,000 Moslems in India who want to live in harmony with their Hindu brothers. . . . The real issue is, 'Do you favor a government controlled by religion, or a secular one?'"

* * *

**Reports Yugoslav Lutherans Enjoy Full Freedom**

In recent reports to the National Lutheran Council, Edgar Popp, superintendent of Lutheran churches in Croatia and Istria, corroborates the statement of the American ministers who visited Yugoslavia last summer by declaring that the Lutheran Church in that country enjoys full freedom. "The propaganda of the Vatican that the church is being persecuted is false," he says. "The Roman Catholic Church has always opposed separation of church and state, and we Evangelicals have always fought for it. Now all the church groups are given equal treatment by the government." As the Lutheran Church in Yugoslavia never possessed material wealth or endowments, Mr. Popp reports, its postwar activities have been severely hampered by losses suffered during the war, both in churches and in clergy.

* * *

**Seek Means of Increasing Philanthropic Funds**

Major appeals of philanthropic agencies total over $2,500,000,000, not including the localized appeals of national and community organizations, a report made to the annual meeting of the Golden Rule Foundation here last week revealed. The total sets an all-time record. "These needs of welfare agencies will not be met if individuals continue to contribute at their present rate," said Charles V. Vickrey, president of the foundation. J. K. Lasser, authority on philanthropic taxation, presented at the meeting the proposals being placed before the chairman of the congressional ways and means committee. They ask that the 15 per cent limitation on exemptions for charitable contributions to individuals, and the 5 per cent limitation for corporations, be abolished or drastically revised upward. Mr. Lasser contends that the present tax law "penalizes the public-spirited individual who has a social conscience." Other speakers at the meeting were Fr. Edward J. Rooney, head of the Jesuit education board, and Robert M. Hopkins, executive director of the National Stewardship Institute, which is implementing the foundation's program to raise the level of giving and inspire greater concern for the country's church and charity organizations.

* * *

**Queens Federation Holds 17th Annual Meeting**

A month-by-month digest of the activities carried on by the Queens federation of churches during the past year was presented by William C. Bennett, executive secretary, at the recent 17th annual dinner of the agency. Mr. Bennett appealed for the continuance of the pioneering programs the federation is instituting in leadership education, Protestant scouting, laymen's retreats and welfare services. The 300 church representatives who attended the dinner also heard an address by Milton J. Hoffman, professor of church history at New Brunswick Theological Seminary, on "What's Right with the Church." George W. Parsons, pastor of St. James Episcopal Church of Elmhurst, was re-elected president for the coming year.

* * *

**And So Forth**

At the 26th annual meeting of the race relations department of the Federal Council of Churches Jan. 29, J. Oscar Lee, executive secretary, reported that five Protestant denominations have adopted the official policy of the council renouncing segregation of Negroes. The annual report urged removal of segregation in church-owned institutions, beginning with hospitals and schools.

At its annual meeting last week, the John Milton Society, which supplies Christian literature and educational materials to the blind of the world, elected Helen Keller, blind author and educator, to her 21st term as president. It was announced that Miss Keller will visit countries in the Near East and the Orient during a year's tour to promote education of blind children and the training of home teachers.

As he left for home last week after a two-month lecture tour in this country, Hans Asmussen, chancellor of the Evangelical Church in Germany, predicted that all Lutheran churches will eventually be joined in one church. Such unity, he believes, will first be achieved in the United States. Dr. Asmussen said that he was deeply impressed by the friendliness shown him during his tour, not only by church people but by all those with whom he came in contact.

Henry A. Atkinson was honored this week on his completion of 30 years as general secretary of the Church Peace Union and the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches.

J. Henry Carpenter.

## Scots Try 'Visitation'

**Church Attendance Mounts as Result of Glasgow, Edinburgh Campaigns**

Edinburgh, Jan. 19.—As a result of the visitation campaign organized by D. P. Thomson, home missions worker, in North Kelvinside, Glasgow, church school enrollment has doubled, church attendance is at the highest point in the history of the parish, and 70 persons have sought out the minister desiring to join the church. The campaign began on a Sunday, with visiting teams occupying the pulpit. In a survey conducted during the week 1,900 home visits were made; in fewer than a dozen houses did the visitors meet a shut door. During the next fortnight the local minister, church officers and students followed up the survey with home visits. "For me the most staggering experience has been to realize how many people who have lost touch with religion are longing to come back," says the minister. The Edinburgh "commando" campaign is in many cases being followed up with work similar to that done in Glasgow. Commenting on the latter effort, Robert Miller, secretary of the campaign and minister of Argyle Place Church, writes that alertness, adaptability and initiative are essential for "comman-


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dos" (a word he thinks should be dropped), but that they must guard against cleverness or aggressiveness.

* * *

**Patrick Carnegie Simpson Dies in Cambridge**

Patrick Carnegie Simpson, professor of church history at Westminster College, Cambridge, who died recently, leaves no successor. An Australian-born Scotsman educated in this country, he made his mark in both theology and church history. His *Church Principles* and *Evangelical Church Catholic*, which expound the Protestant or Reformed catholic position as it has not been done elsewhere in Britain in our time, are regarded here as classics on the subject. But Simpson's unique place was in conference. He led the free church delegation formed in response to the "Appeal to Christian People" issued by the Lambeth conference of 1920. In the ensuing discussion, during which the Church of England and the free churches came closer in understanding than at any time since, his thinking on the doctrines of church and sacraments was so profound and his exposition so lucid that the entire discussion moved to a new plane. During his career, Simpson served as moderator of the General Assembly and of the Free Church Council.

* * *

**Sees Opportunity in India For Christianity**

E. G. K. Hewat of Bombay, describing the new opportunities for the Christian church in India, tells how the Hindu premier of Bombay came at 12:30 a.m. on independence day to unfurl the new flag over the Church of Scotland's Wilson College in Bombay and to speak of the four years he had spent there as the happiest of his life. When a short service was held in the chapel later in the day, Hindu students for the first time crowded the chapel to overflowing. Dr. Hewat thinks that the educated Indians, who for 50 years have been preoccupied with politics, will now perhaps find the way open to Christianity.

* * *

**And So Forth**

The December number of the *Scottish Congregationalist* bids farewell to the retiring editor, Ralph Calder, and welcomes his successor, Arthur G. Reekie. Dr. Calder has gone south to become secretary of the Colonial Missionary Society.

Dr. Anna Martin, medical missionary of Nagpur formerly in practice in Ayr, died shortly after receiving the Kaiser-i-Hind decoration.

The presbytery of Edinburgh has commissioned Sir John Falconer, recently provost of the city, to convey its congratulations to the synod of Otago in New Zealand, which is celebrating its centenary this year. The synod was formed by a little company of Scottish emigrants accompanied by Thomas Burns, minister of Portobello, Edinburgh. It now has 100 parishes and 200 congregations.

Robert Unwin Moffat, grandson of the famous Scottish missionary of the same name who was Livingstone's father-in-law, died recently at Bulawayo, South Africa, at the age of 81. A pioneer like his grandfather, he carried on scientific studies in tropical medicine and explorations in the Amazon region.

INNES LOGAN.

# Race a Factor in Coming Elections

**South African Political Scene Marked by Nationalist Party Demand that Native Rights Be Rescinded**

STRAND, C.P., SOUTH AFRICA, Jan. 26.—At the beginning of its new session in Cape Town, Parliament was confronted with a motion by Dr. Malan, leader of the opposition, calling for repeal of the legislation which gives representation in the national law-making body to Indians and native Africans. Immediately the *Cape Times*, leading daily, declared: "The frustration of legitimate native ambition that would follow such a course would end forever any possibility of friendly relations between European and non-European in this country." Widespread fears that the general election expected later this year will be fought on the color issue have been confirmed by Dr. Malan's announcement that his plea for repeal of the legislation is only one part of his Nationalist party's policy on color, and that its full policy on the matter will be enunciated as the election approaches. Liberal Christian leaders are fearful of the effect of the probable election propaganda on the non-white population, and the Christian Council of South Africa is considering what steps it can take to relieve the highly charged racial situation. General Smuts is on record as declaring that we must keep faith with the native people.

* * *

**Clerical Political Leader For Segregation**

Liberal forces in South Africa were dismayed to hear C. F. Miles Cadman, Anglican clergyman and member of Parliament, announce that the native policy of his new "Central Group" party is "more akin to that of the Nationalist party than to that of the United [Smuts] party." He asserts that the Nationalist plan of "trusteeship" is, in his opinion, Christian in principle. (This plan aims at allowing the native people to develop their own social system in strictly segregated areas.) Mr. Cadman's statement emphasizes the very deep cleavage among the churches and Christians generally, in this country of grave problems, on what is the Christian solution to the problem of race.

* * *

**To Consider State of Religious Education**

The executive committee of the Christian Council of South Africa at its annual meeting Jan. 9-10 in Cape Town decided to arrange for a national conference on religious education to be held when the council has its next full meeting in July 1949. The committee is disturbed because religion is almost totally excluded from education in South Africa and because, even when it is given a place in the curriculum, the teaching is done poorly and with obvious impatience by ill equipped teachers. Even the African scholars and newly qualified teachers from Christian missionary educational institutions, the committee noted, exhibit a marked antipathy to the church and religion. The time has come, it was agreed, for the whole position of religious education in South Africa to be reviewed and the problems related to it dealt with.

* * *

**Penal Commission Suggests Elementary Reforms**

In the Hoernle memorial lecture given Jan. 14 to the Institute of Race Relations in Cape Town, Mrs. A. W. Hoernle, widow of the late liberal leader in the field of race relations, gave some details of the recommendations in the eagerly awaited report of the penal reform commission, of which she is a member. The report gives special attention to the miserable conditions under which most of the natives and other colored peoples in South Africa must live, and points to other factors contributing to the high crime rate among them. Among the commission's recommendations are retention of the death penalty, abolition of the "cat," a reduction in the number of strokes inflicted in punishment by the lash and in the number of times this method of punishment can be decreed, various reforms in prisons, and social improvements to remove the causes of crime.

* * *

**And So Forth**

Speaking at South Africa's first St. John Ambulance Association service—a dignified ceremony which dates back to the days of the crusades—Archbishop J. R. Darbyshire of Cape Town stated that he approves of cosmetics! He spoke of the value of old traditions, particularly those which bring color and pageantry into everyday life, and said that cosmetics serve the same purpose. In the ceremony's climax, the cross, sword and standard were handed over into the keeping of the church as the work of the past year was dedicated.

Public ire has been aroused by the disclosure that deaf persons have been exploited by agents who sell them hearing instruments at fantastic prices. The National Council for the Deaf is being assisted by the government as it investigates the racket.

As a result of a lecture by Professor Van Rooyen of Cape Town University revealing certain advances in the treatment of cancer, public interest in the new drive for cancer research funds has greatly increased and thousands of pounds have been subscribed.

STANLEY G. PITTS.

**'Christian Herald' Makes Award to 'The Yearling'**

The *Christian Herald's* first motion picture award was given to "The Yearling" as the best film of 1947 at a luncheon in New York Jan. 20. The award was accepted by J. Robert Rubin, vice-president of Lowe's Inc., producers. Daniel Poling, editor of the magazine, presided, and addresses were given by Mrs. Jesse M. Bader, chairman of the Protestant Motion Picture Council's reviewing service—a service sponsored by the *Herald*—and by Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Association of America.

**Oppose Nuns as Teachers In Dakota Schools**

A "committee on separation of church and state" has been formed in North Dakota, which is launching a referendum measure to prohibit nuns wearing religious garb from teaching in public schools. According to the state's department of public instruction, 74 nuns taught in North Dakota public schools last year.

# Urge N.Y. Role in Higher Education

**Special Commission Recommends that State Set Up Various Colleges and Professional Schools**

SYRACUSE, N. Y., Feb. 2.—The special commission of 30 members under the chairmanship of Owen D. Young, appointed last year by Governor Dewey to make recommendations concerning a state university, brought in on Jan. 12 a unanimous report which calls for a broad program of state participation in higher education. It recommends a number of four-year colleges in sections of the state not now "adequately served"; two medical centers, one in New York city and one upstate, to include schools of medicine, dentistry, nursing and public health; a new college of veterinary medicine; a number of two-year community colleges "widely scattered throughout the state"; and possible state aid to "certain private professional schools." Mr. Young says it will take 25 years to complete the program. It is expected that the cost will be close to $500,000,000, with annual operating expenses of probably $100,000,000. The report recommends legislation outlawing racial and religious discrimination in admissions to private higher educational institutions throughout the state. Acceptance of all the recommendations is probable, since Republican and Democratic leaders of both senate and assembly were on the commission.

* * *

**Iroquois Protest Interference With Tribal Rights**

Indians of the Iroquois confederacy are greatly disturbed over proposed federal legislation which, according to Chief Chapman Schenandoah of their Onondagas, would annul their treaty rights, destroy their sovereignty as nations and take away their tribal lands. Schenandoah points out that pending bills provide for "the sale of reservation lands to the highest bidder" and mean that "the Indians will not live together as a nation but will be scattered." A leaflet which is being circulated by the Indians states that if necessary an appeal will be made to the United Nations.

* * *

**Churches Support Indians' Stand**

The state council of churches at its annual meeting in Albany supported the position of the Iroquois by requesting the federal government to delay its measures on Indian affairs until satisfactory arrangements have been made with the six nations comprising the confederacy, and urged that procedures taken be such as "will enhance the democratic heritage of the liberty loving people of the Six Nations and of the United States." Other actions of the state council renewed its opposition to compulsory military training in peacetime and called for immediate and adequate relief for Europe, "safeguarding in every possible way the use of funds for civil and non-military projects." The state legislature was asked to enact a law eliminating discrimination in education because of race, religion or national origin, but specified that church-related schools should not be prevented


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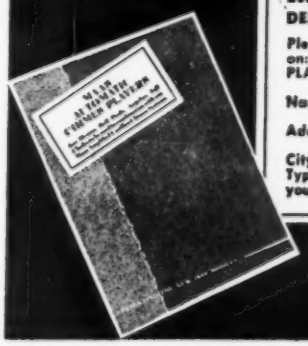

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* * *

### Sees Interfaith Intolerance As Serious Danger

Max Arzt of New York, professor of practical theology in the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, speaking in Buffalo at the annual dinner of friends of the seminary said that the most serious danger facing America today is the religious "Balkanization" of the nation. Accusing Protestants, Catholics and Jews of allowing their intolerance to reduce religion to "a factor making for dissension and disunity," he asserted that democracy cannot function effectively while the nation is divided into competing racial and religious segments. He called upon leaders of the three major faiths to overcome the prejudice which is injuring their work and to become aware of the wide area of common spiritual endeavor which calls for united action.

* * *

### And So Forth

Francis B. Sayre, president of the trusteeship council of the United Nations, was the speaker at a community vesper service in the First Presbyterian Church of Buffalo early last month. He predicted the end of Western civilization "if those who believe Christ is the answer remain silent and lethargic in the face of the world's unparalleled need."

Declaring that the movement called "Protestants and Other Americans United for the Separation of Church and State" is long overdue, David Rhys Williams in his sermon Jan. 18 at First Unitarian Church, Rochester, said that the constitutional principle upon which it is based is "not a bogey, but a bulwark." He predicted that hereafter candidates for public office and media of communication will be obliged to take into account the public opinion "which has at last an adequate channel through which to express itself."

William H. McConaghy has resigned from the pastorate of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, Albany, to accept appointment as director of the newly established institute for racial and cultural relations of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., with headquarters in Philadelphia. One function of the institute will be to conduct workshops throughout the country for ministers, church workers and student groups.

The 120-year-old chapel at Hamilton College, Clinton, will be remodeled at a cost of $100,000 and rededicated as a memorial to 50 Hamilton men who died in the recent war. WALTER D. CAVERT.

### Reformed Colleges Plan Faculty Exchange

As a first step in its program to exchange teachers with Sarospatak Reformed Academy in Hungary, Hope College, Reformed Church in America school in Holland, Mich., has as a guest professor this year Joseph Zsiros, who will teach courses in Bible and archaeology and deliver a lecture series on eastern European history and culture. Dr. Zsiros, who studied at the universities of Pennsylvania and Berlin, is president of the academy, which was established in 1531 by Peter Perenyi, a leader of the Reformation in Hungary. Since the war Hope College has been sending clothing, food and money to the Magyar institution.

# Britain Sees Self A Part of Europe

**Bevin's Speech on Union Brings Facing of Facts—Anglicans Are Urged to Set Up Information Office**

LONDON, Jan. 28.—Mr. Bevin's speech has brought us sharply up against the facts of the world situation, and any blinkers we were in danger of wearing are now off and likely to stay off. Our danger here is an easy sentimentalism about other folk who ought to be decent and friendly and play the game but just don't. That was our trouble in 1939, and government policy then aided our muddled manners. But 1948 finds us in a different mood, with eyes open and our leaders talking plainly. Mr. Bevin's call to a union of the western European nations means that Britain is irrevocably to be regarded as a European state.

* * *

### House of Lords Due for Change

Our antiquated and undemocratic House of Lords is due for a thorough spring cleaning if the government is prepared for it. What Labor wants is further to curb the already feeble powers of the Lords by limiting their right to hold up a bill to one year instead of two. The Tories are asking for a reform of the Lords' membership as well as its powers. The movement to make the Lords more representative of the nation is growing. How to do it is the problem. Some noble prospects are opening up! One is a suggestion that free church leaders should sit in the Lords alongside the Anglican bishops—adding, no doubt, to the spiritual and moral authority of the assembly but seeming hardly in tune with the classic non-conformist views of church and state.

* * *

### Anglicans Consider Publicity

An attempt is to be made to persuade the Church of England to appoint a high-powered church information board to be its spearhead in every kind of modern publicity. The suggestion that an officially sponsored daily newspaper be launched has been brushed aside as not only too expensive but as a scheme in which "neither God nor mammon would be properly served." The reporting commission is not satisfied with the attention given to religion by the big national dailies. It believes that the things of the spirit are neglected or suppressed as not being news, and that the press considers religion a dull subject. Many doubt that a high-pressure publicity office would lead the press into new ways. They feel that the reason for its indifference lies deeper. Editors are wide-awake people who know what their readers are interested in. Religion is some way down on their list—but it's there!

* * *

### Protest Greets Suggestion Of National Lottery

The ugly threat of a state lottery is pushing its way into public notice, and the easy arguments of monetary gain to the state because a lottery is really another form of saving are being bandied about. Most of us are already pretty much ashamed of the

football pools which drain off hundreds of millions of pounds a year and maintain a sort of gambling frenzy among weekly wage earners. Fortunately the churches' committee on gambling is a lively and effective body, and it has already pointed out that this country had lotteries in the not too remote past and that so violent were the evils they produced that in 1808 they were abolished. A royal commission in 1933 reported against them. Any attempt to reinflict this evil on the country would rouse opposition led, I have no doubt, by Sir Stafford Cripps himself.

* * *

**Order of Merit Goes To T. S. Eliot**

The recent award of the Order of Merit to T. S. Eliot, American-born British poet, is a recognition of fastidious merit rather than popularity. Although he has not yet written a poem which trips easily on the tongue, Mr. Eliot's influence is great among our younger writers and dramatists and has markedly strengthened the place of the Christian tradition in our creative literature. Mysticism and modernity, orthodoxy and oddity mingle in his occasional poetic outbursts, and he is not above controversial pamphlets such as the one he wrote on the new south India church, *Union by Destruction*. Mr. Eliot moves in the highest circles of Anglican orthodoxy and earns his living as a publisher in the firm of Faber & Faber. It was with his drama, "Murder in the Cathedral," that he made his chief contact with the general public.

* * *

**And So Forth**

St. Martin-in-the-Fields Church in Trafalgar square, often called the "parish church of the British commonwealth," has a new vicar, Mervyn Charles-Edwards. He succeeds Eric Loveday, who died recently while on a visit to Australia.

Bishop Wurm, president of the Evangelical Church in Germany, has sent to the British Council of Churches a letter of thanks for the kindness of British churches to German prisoners of war. All the prisoners in this country are to be home by July, except 10,000 who have elected to stay and help with the harvest.

L. P. Jacks of the *Hibbert Journal* has retired after 45 years' editorship—ever since the journal was founded. A leader of the Unitarian churches, he is now 87.

London churches are cooperating to plan a follow-up of last year's "commando campaign." Non-churchgoers are to be invited to "give the church a chance"—and go to church during Lent and see what happens inside.

The Dean of Chichester (A. S. Duncan-Jones) is to visit the U.S. and Canada to fill lecturing and preaching engagements from Feb. 19 until the middle of May.

Henry Mosley, bishop of Southwell from 1928 to 1941 and a champion of East End unfortunates, is dead.

A new and promising organization is to be set up by the ministry of education and British teachers for the purpose of arranging interchange of visits between children here and abroad. UNESCO and the educational bodies of our immediate Continental neighbors are particularly interested. Meanwhile, our hearts have been warmed by the Swiss Red Cross' gesture in inviting 1,200 of the most delicate British children for a stay in the bracing mountain air of Switzerland.

CECIL NORTHCOTT.

# Turks Use 'Red' Label as Weapon

**Public Figures Seize Chance to Slur All Opponents by 'Communist' Charge—Racists Urge 'Pure' Nation**

ISTANBUL, TURKEY, Jan. 19.—Here, as elsewhere, "communist" has become probably the most used political epithet, with almost every public figure flinging it against his adversary. But since it has been unanimously maintained for years that communism could not gain ground in Turkey, the inference is that the use of the epithet has little relation to fact, that it is simply a political weapon deemed to be efficient. The fact is that most of the persons thus accused are definitely anti-Russian in the sense that they would resist any Russian attempt to seize the Dardanelles or any other Turkish territory. None of them avows Marxist or even leftist opinions; they all consider the late Kemal Atatürk their source of inspiration. Most of them are either members of the People's party, which for 20 years was the only one in the country, or of its offshoot, the Democratic (opposition) party.

* * *

**Racists Make Use of 'Communist' Brush**

At present a racist group headed by Nihal Atsiz is applying the term "communist" to all who are not racists. "National consciousness must wake up," writes Atsiz, "and when it has done so no persons with foreign blood in their veins will accede to the highest posts in the state and the nation will not give its confidence to persons of foreign blood, even if they are Turkish citizens. . . . Marriage with foreigners will be forbidden, and the country will be governed by moral men, intelligent and of pure blood. In such a country science will be cultivated not for the sake of science but for the sake of national interest. The laws will recognize only the interest of our nation, history will be studied only from the viewpoint of our glorious past. All writings, plays and films which attack our past, our heroism, our nationalism will be prohibited." Atsiz carries on his propaganda in characteristically Hitlerian style. His followers are in evidence wherever student rioting occurs. The police have things well in hand, however, and any really subversive action would be nipped in the bud.

* * *

**Others Invite Support Of Racists**

Regrettably, those who accuse others of communism frequently tend to seek allies among the racists. Thus when Kenan Öner, until two weeks ago president of the Istanbul section of the Democratic (opposition) party, accused Hasan Ali Yücel, former minister of education, of having openly favored communist elements, he invited depositions from racists who claimed that they had been persecuted by the government at Hasan Ali's instigation. Kenan Öner represented them as patriots crowned with the halo of martyrdom. Hasan Ali replied with a lawsuit, but the tribunal dismissed it, declaring that none of Kenan Öner's charges could be proved to be lies. Incidentally, Kenan Öner has resigned from the Demo-

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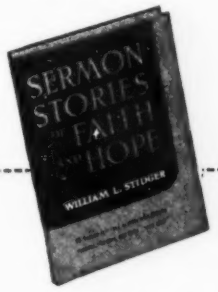


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cratic party, after fiercely attacking its president and founder, Djelal Bayar.

* * *

### Students Riot, Demand Teachers' Dismissal

This state of affairs created an unhealthy atmosphere for the recent disturbances at Ankara University, where students and a section of the press charged that three professors of language and geography were "communists." After students demonstrated against them in March 1947, the professors were suspended by the ministry of education on the ground that they had promised to write articles for a political review. However, the council of state ordered them reinstated, and they resumed their work. Then, without waiting for the result of an inquiry into the charges ordered by the government, the university senate decided to dismiss the professors for "breach of discipline and causing a schism in the university." Before this decision was announced, students on Dec. 27 staged a demonstration which developed into a riot. Police lost control, and the students invaded the office of the dean, beat him and compelled him to sign a formal resignation. It took two days for the public to realize that the students were not to be considered defenders of patriotic faith. Then it perceived the danger, and the press declared that a "doubtful element" had entered the student ranks.

* * *

### Turkish Prices Bring No Takers

For the first time in several years, Turkey is having difficulty exporting her staples. The reasons: reluctance to dispose of them for pounds sterling, and the high-price policy maintained by the government, a policy successful when serious shortages prevailed. Now Switzerland has purchased all the hazelnuts she needed from Spain instead of from Turkey, tobacco crops are piled one on top of the other, and offers to sell olive oil at Turkish prices find no takers.

E. Gueron.

### New Mexico Committee Protests Nuns' Teaching in Schools

The "free schools" committee organized in Dixon, N. M., to "rid tax-supported public schools in the area of Catholic influence and the use of nuns as teachers" plans court action to enforce its demands, Religious News Service reports. The committee charges that nuns teaching in the public schools are "infiltrating their instruction with religious doctrine." During the 1947 session of the New Mexico legislature a measure permitting religious instruction in the public schools by religious groups was defeated by a Protestant majority. The "free schools" committee estimates that there are 122 nuns teaching in the state's public schools.

### Missionary Archives Presented To Fisk University

The American Missionary archives for 1839-79 have been presented to the Fisk University library in Nashville, Tenn. After processing and organization, they will be available to scholars. The records include particularly valuable source material on the abolitionist movement, the underground railroad, the Civil War, reconstruction, proposals for Negro colonization abroad and establishment of Negro schools in the south.

# Danes Erect New Seamen's Church

**Building in Hull, England, for Danish Sailors Was Destroyed by Bombs During Recent Hostilities**

Roskilde, Denmark, Jan. 22.—On Sunday the new provisional Danish seamen's church in Hull, England, which replaces the 78-year-old house of worship which was entirely destroyed by bombs during the war, was dedicated, with many official representatives present. Material for the new wooden building, together with furnishings, was shipped from this country at a cost of around $14,000. The baptismal font is made of stones salvaged from the bombed-out House of Commerce in London. This seamen's church has great importance, since about 2,000 Danish fishing boats and 200 Danish and Norwegian steamers visit the Hull harbor every year.

* * *

### Erect World's Most Northern Church

In Siorapaluk ("Little Seashore"), Greenland, about 300 miles north of Thule, the farthest-north church building in the world was recently dedicated. It stands at the base of a 300-foot high "bird's rock." There are only two wooden buildings in the village; the Eskimos of the region live in caves. Transportation of materials was difficult, but because the inhabitants were eager to help in erecting the church it was finished soon after the materials arrived. On the day of dedication there was a great festival, at which the "treat" consisted of coffee, biscuits, raisins and prunes.

* * *

### Ban on Sunday Motoring Hits Swedish Pastors

The new law in Sweden prohibiting the operation of motorcars from Saturday evening until Monday morning strikes a hard blow at rural pastors, many of whom live considerable distances from their churches, and at many rural churchgoers who had depended on automobiles for transportation. However, many pastors have secured special permission to use motorcycles, which require less gasoline than do automobiles. It was proposed at first that church services be held on weekdays, when motorcars could be used. This suggestion proved futile, however, in the face of the ban on the use of electricity for heating church buildings on weekdays.

* * *

### And So Forth

The old 12th century church in Roslagen, Sweden, which has been completely restored during the past year, was recently rededicated. In the process of restoration, workmen discovered an old painting of the Madonna, which has now been retouched and placed on the wall of the church.

Four Danish theologians are now lecturing in seminaries abroad: one at the University of Jerusalem, one at the University of Lund, in Sweden, and the others in England and Germany.

In Slesvig, city in the province of South Slesvig which before annexation by Germany in 1864 was part of Denmark, 1,800 schoolchildren attended Danish Christmas services. Since the crowd could not be ac-

commodated in the small castle church of Gottorp where services in Danish had generally been held, the congregation was permitted to use the Slesvig Cathedral.

The Swedish ecclesiastical law requiring women to remain away from church for a prescribed period after childbirth has at last been annulled. The original law, issued in 1686, set the period at six weeks; in 1866 this was changed to four weeks.

Swedish churches at Epiphany services took up their customary special collections for foreign missions. In Göteborg and Bohus counties this year's collection totaled about $27,600. Five gold rings were among the offerings at Karl Johan Church in Göteborg.

K. E. JORDT JÖRGENSEN.

## Defend 'Social Action'

### Methodist Ministers of Denver Declare that M.F.S.A. Is Not 'Communist'

BOULDER, COLO., Feb. 2.—Methodist ministers of Denver responded to recent charges in the press and elsewhere that the Methodist Federation for Social Action is a "front" for communism by issuing a statement that read in part: "[The federation] is none the less religious because it emphasizes social action. That merely makes it religious in Christian terms. It proposes the Christianization of society, nothing more or less. It fronts for neither communism nor capitalism. Its ism is Christianity. . . . [It] represents the effort of honest men and women to find truly Christian solutions for the pressing problems of our times and to discover for themselves and our church ways of serving God in the spirit of our common Lord, Jesus Christ."

* * *

**When Are Textbooks Subversive?**

The University of Wyoming at Laramie is trying to answer that one. The university community, indeed the whole state, is lining up on the matter. In October the board of trustees asked President G. D. Humphrey to appoint a faculty committee of 15 to investigate the texts used in social science classes to determine if there is anything subversive in them. By a vote of 123 to 24 the faculty declared itself "deeply concerned" over the proposed probe, and the student newspaper came out in protest against it. It printed a letter from the governor's son, Lester C. Hunt, Jr., a student at Swarthmore, which declared: "The board's order is in effect distrust of democracy. The purging of textbooks has served as one of the most cherished tools of fascist governmental and educational policy." So far Governor Hunt has maintained a discreet attitude of "no comment" on the controversy, but some members of the board have declared their intention to "check till doomsday."

* * *

**Community Leaders Challenge U.M.T. 'Week'**

When the American Legion asked Gov. W. L. Knous of Colorado to proclaim "Universal Military Training Week," a group of political, religious and educational leaders called upon him to remind him that to comply would be to "serve as a propaganda agent." The governor replied that he could issue the requested proclamation, substitute one opposing such training, ignore the matter or call public attention to the "week" but neither favor nor oppose it. So far he has been publicly silent on the whole matter, and the time set for the observance is about past.

* * *

**And So Forth**

The executive committee of the Denver ministers' alliance has been authorized to investigate alleged racial discrimination practiced by church organizations, including the Y.M.C.A., in the city.

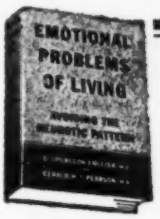
Baptists of the eastern part of Colorado met in Denver Jan. 23 for a Bible and missionary program, with denominational leaders conducting the activities.

The Denver council of churches is carrying on its annual campaign to underwrite its budget for the coming year, which has been set at $18,000. On New Year's Day the council sponsored at Central Christian Church its annual interracial, interdenominational communion service.

In a special program Jan. 11 station KVOR, Colorado Springs, paid tribute to Robert W. Wolf for his service to the community during his 37-year pastorate at First Lutheran Church. The oldest minister in point of service in Colorado Springs, Dr. Wolf recently announced his retirement. He has spent 54 years in the ministry.

Frederick Udlock, for 12 years pastor of Clayton Presbyterian Church, Denver, and prominent as a youth leader, has accepted appointment to the faculty of Hastings College, Hastings, Neb.

CLARENCE W. KEMPER.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# Plan to Extend Summer Camps

**North Carolina Baptists, Methodists, Disciples Prepare New Sites— Colleges in Fund Drives**

CHAPEL HILL, N. C., Feb. 4.—In the midst of the worst snowstorms in 20 years, churches of North Carolina have been making plans for expanding their summer conferences and camps. Baptist officials announced that Seaside assembly, located at the mouth of the Cape Fear and utilizing buildings constructed by the military during the war, will be ready to accommodate 1,000 guests at its opening in June. It complements Fruitlands assembly in the mountains, which was reopened last summer for the first time since the war. Methodists received a Christmas offering for continuing construction of Camp Don Lee on a 50-acre tract along the lower Neuse river. This camp will supplement the assembly grounds at Lake Junaluska and Louisburg and the Methodist youth center at Harbor Island. A large site near Camp Don Lee has been donated to the Disciples for development as a camp.

* * *

**Storms Cause Extension Of Relief Drive**

On the eve of the statewide collection of goods for overseas relief sponsored by the North Carolina council of churches, organizations had been completed in each of the state's 100 counties. But on the two week ends included in the drive, snow and ice blanketed the area and brought practically all transportation to a standstill. The collection has now been extended to Feb. 15. E. J. Evans of Durham has been named North Carolina chairman of the United Jewish Appeal, which seeks this year to raise $250,000,000. The drive for United Overseas Aid, representing most of the major relief agencies, has been deferred until some time in the spring.

* * *

**Colleges Drive For Funds**

Campaigns are in progress to strengthen and enlarge church educational institutions in the area. In order to take advantage of the offer of the income on the $10,000,000 Reynolds foundation, Baptists are engaged in raising $6,000,000 to construct a new plant and move Wake Forest College to Winston-Salem. It is suggested that the present plant at Wake Forest be used for an additional Southern Baptist seminary; the council on Christian education has endorsed the proposal. Funds are being raised to renovate and reopen Chowan College, Baptist school at Murfreesboro which was closed during the war. North Carolina Methodists are in the last year of a drive for $2,000,000 to strengthen and raise the standards of their four colleges and establish scholarships at Duke Divinity School. The two Methodist conferences of South Carolina begin this year a campaign for $1,000,000 for improvements at Wofford and Columbia colleges.

* * *

**Vote on Continuance in Federal Council**

Granville presbytery has voted favorably on the question of the Presbyterian Church, U.S., remaining in the Federal Council. The vote in North Carolina now stands 5 presbyteries for and 3 against the proposition. In South Carolina the vote is 6 to 2 for withdrawal. Committees on cooperation and union between the denomination and the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., will meet at Asheville in May. At that time a plan of union is expected to be put into final form for submission to the two general assemblies which meet that month.

* * *

**U.S. Waldensians Mark Centennial**

The Waldensians who some 50 years ago established the community of Valdese in the Blue Ridge foothills will celebrate their "independence day" centennial Feb. 17. It was on this day in 1848 that civil and religious liberties were restored to the followers of Peter Waldo by Emperor Charles Albert. The people of the community, whose original settlers came from the French Alps, have now been largely assimilated into the Presbyterian Church, but they retain some of their distinctive customs and traditions.

* * *

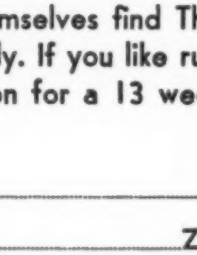
**And So Forth**

Charles P. Taft, president of the Federal Council of Churches, recently visited Charlotte and Davidson, speaking to several audiences on the ecumenical movement and the tasks of the churches.

*Christian Horizons,* independent liberal Baptist quarterly, resumed publication with the January issue under the editorship of W. W. Finlater of Elizabeth City.

Pointing out that eight North Carolina cities now employ Negro policemen with excellent results, Mayor E. L. White of Wilmington has recommended that Negro officers be added to the force there.

In the death on Jan. 15 of Josephus Daniels, editor-publisher of the *Raleigh News and Observer,* North Carolina lost



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Alphonso Elder, head of the graduate department of North Carolina College for Negroes, has been elected president of the institution to succeed James E. Shepard, who died in October.

HENRY G. RUARK.

## The Church Roll

Arnold T. Ohrn of Oslo, Norway, has been appointed general secretary of the Baptist World Alliance. Beginning July 1, he will serve in the alliance's new headquarters in Washington, D. C. W. O. Lewis, whom he succeeds, will continue as associate secretary with an office in London, from which he will superintend the Baptist relief program in Europe.

Robert Dubose, director of religious activities at Duke University, has been named executive secretary of the Commission on Christian Higher Education. Headquarters of the organization, which is affiliated with the Association of American Colleges, is in Washington, D. C.

W. Harold Row, who served as director of C.P.S. for the Church of the Brethren, has been named director of the Brethren Service Committee. Mr. Row, who is now in Europe surveying the work of the committee, succeeds M. R. Zigler, who has been appointed official representative of his denomination to the World Council of Churches at Geneva. Dr. Zigler will also coordinate the committee's activities in Europe.

Lt. Gen. John C. H. Lee, retired, former army commander in Italy, has been appointed general secretary of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Religious News Service reports. He will serve the organization, founded in 1883 to "spread Christ's Kingdom among men and boys," without pay.

Kenneth Scott Latourette, professor of missions and Oriental history at Yale University, returned to this country Dec. 24 after three months of lecturing in English and Scottish universities. Oxford University conferred upon Dr. Latourette an honorary D.D. degree. This is the highest degree of the university, and its award to the Yale professor is considered a great honor, particularly in view of the fact that he is an American not in communion with the Church of England. Dr. Latourette also spent a week lecturing at the Ecumenical Institute in Celigny, Switzerland.

Raymond Swing, noted radio commentator, will interview four leading Protestant churchmen in a series of quarter-hour transcribed radio broadcasts on the issues of the coming first Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam, it was announced recently. The four churchmen are Henry Smith Leiper, associate general secretary of the World Council; Henry Pitney Van Dusen, president of Union Theological Seminary; Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam; and O. Frederick Nolde, dean of the graduate school of the Lutheran Seminary at Philadelphia.

Eugene Pringle of New York has arrived at the American Board's school in Tarsus, Turkey. He is the second American Negro teacher to join the staff.

Recent deaths in the field of religion: Ellis B. Burgess, formerly president of the Pittsburgh and New York synods of the United Lutheran Church and of the National Lutheran Council, at Crafton, Pa., Dec. 20, at the age of 78. . . . Edward T. Helfenstein, formerly bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church's Maryland diocese, on Dec. 22, at the age of 82. . . . Samuel Dodds, Presbyterian theologian, philosopher and educator, and father of President Harold W. Dodds of Princeton University, on Dec. 26, at the age of 89. . . . Robert Ernest Hume, professor emeritus of the history of religions at Union Theological Seminary, formerly a missionary and educator in India, and author of many books, including *The World's Living Religions*, on Jan. 4, at the age of 70. . . . W. H. Gleysteen, for 40 years with the Presbyterian Mission in Peking, China, on Jan. 17. . . . William N. DeBerry, pastor of St. John's Congregational Church, Springfield, Mass., who in 1928 received the Harmon Foundation's first award for distinguished service in religion among Negroes, on Jan. 20.

## Current Feature Films

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**The Fabulous Texan** (Rep.) *Melodrama.* Feuding just after Civil War between former Texas Rangers and new, crooked state police. A *routine* western, with gunplay and violence—plus, for a change, romance. M,Y

**Green Dolphin Street** (MGM) Richard Hart, Van Heflin, Donna Reed, Lana Turner. *Drama.* Involuntary deserter from British navy makes a fortune as pioneer in New Zealand, but when in a drunken fog he writes home for the wrong sister to join him as his wife, everyone is launched on a long trail of woe. Plenty happens—earthquakes, floods, Maori uprisings—but though well meaning it is all very unconvincing and very *dull.* M,Y

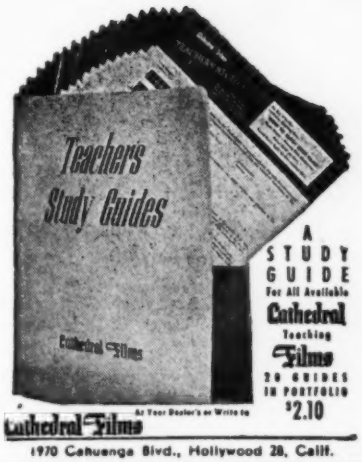
**Night Song** (Univ.) *Drama.* Dana Andrews, Ethel Barrymore, Hoagy Carmichael, Merle Oberon. How a wealthy girl saves a struggling young composer from bitterness over loss of sight by pretending to be also blind and poor, secretly insures his musical fortune; then, successful, his sight restored, he is interested only in his "new" benefactress, and she faces a dilemma. As *silly* and mawkish a story as can be imagined redeemed only by realistic settings, unique and refreshing performances by Barrymore and Carmichael. M,Y

**The Roosevelt Story** (Tola) *Documentary.* Newsreel shots take late President through his career from First World War to his death, with incidental scenes of depression, war, etc. The old films are interesting, well edited, but corny commentary makes film *banal,* hackneyed by its maudlin approach; misleading by its *partisan,* extravagant hero worship, its thesis that Roosevelt was infallible, alone responsible for the well-being of good men and the confounding of evil ones here and abroad. M,Y

BEST CURRENT FILMS

*For Family:* Carnegie Hall, Henry V, Life with Father, Magic Town, The Secret Life of Walter Mitty, Welcome Stranger, The Yearling.

*For Mature Audience:* The Adventuress, The Bishop's Wife, Body and Soul, Boomerang!, The Captive Heart, Crossfire, The Farmer's Daughter, Frieda, The Fugitive, Gentlemen's Agreement, Great Expectations, Miracle on 34th Street, The Senator Was Indiscreet, So Well Remembered, Stairway to Heaven, This Happy Breed. 2-18-48

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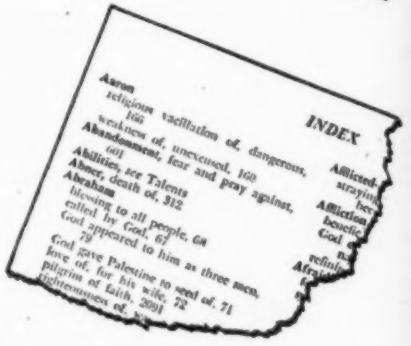
I am a woman of a sorrowful spirit.
Religious Ecstasy I Sam. 2:1
My heart rejoiceth in the Lord.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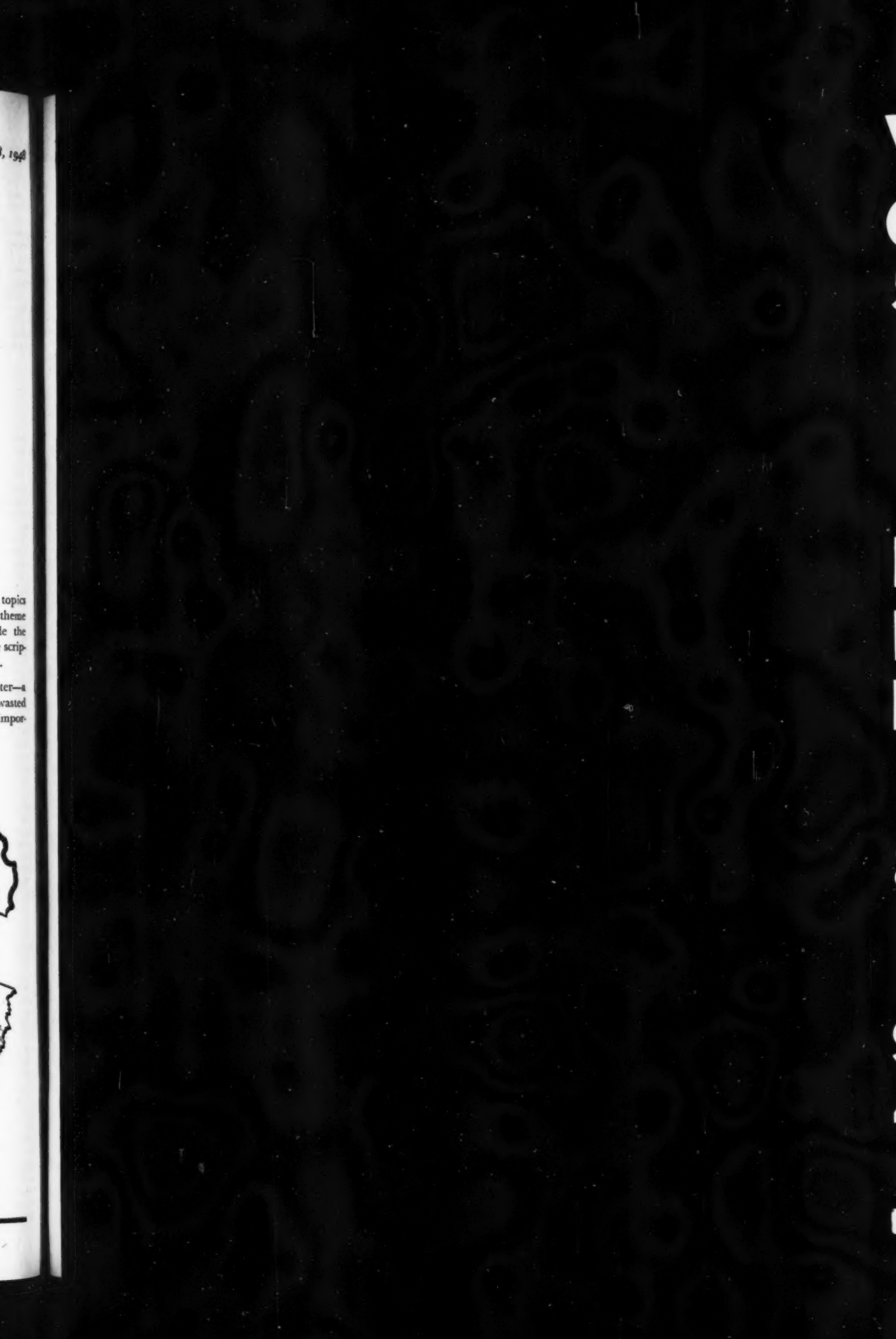
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